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WAR & PEACE

U. S. heads again for brink-of-war

By Tabitha Petran

IN THE WAKE of the Bermuda conference, Washington appeared to be trying to build a new "situation of strength" from which to dictate terms in the cold war. Its momentous decision to equip Britain with intermediate-range guided missiles (1,500 miles) focused attention on a vast reorganization of Western forces now in progress.

The outlines of this big new military buildup are becoming clear in published reports:

- U.S. forces "almost everywhere nowadays have atomic weapons as almost a normal part of their equipment," Secy. Dulles revealed at the SEATO conference in Canberra. And, as the President forecast in his January budget message, "atomic support commands" are being established at overseas bases. These commands, said **UP** (3/30), "will be armed with atomic-tipped Honest John rockets, Corporal guided missiles, and other weapons enabling them to lay down atomic destruction at ranges up to 100 miles."
- The decision to equip British forces with IRBMs (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles) is a prelude to similar equipment of other allies. The Washington **Post** (3/26) reported: "American officials know that it is inevitable that the same weapons will be placed in France, Western Germany, Italy. American planners also would like to see them in Turkey as well."
- The IRBMs will have atomic warheads, made by the U.S. or Britain. Said the Washington **Post** (3/26): "Congressional reaction to the first step indicates that the warhead move will not be politically impossible when the time comes." According to UP, IRBMs will be able to reach Moscow from Britain in ten minutes.
- Estimates as to when the IRBMs

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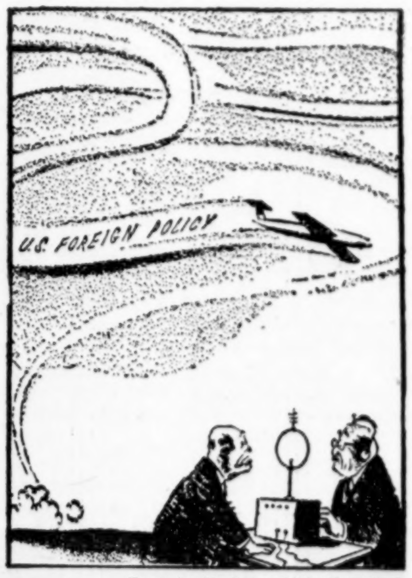
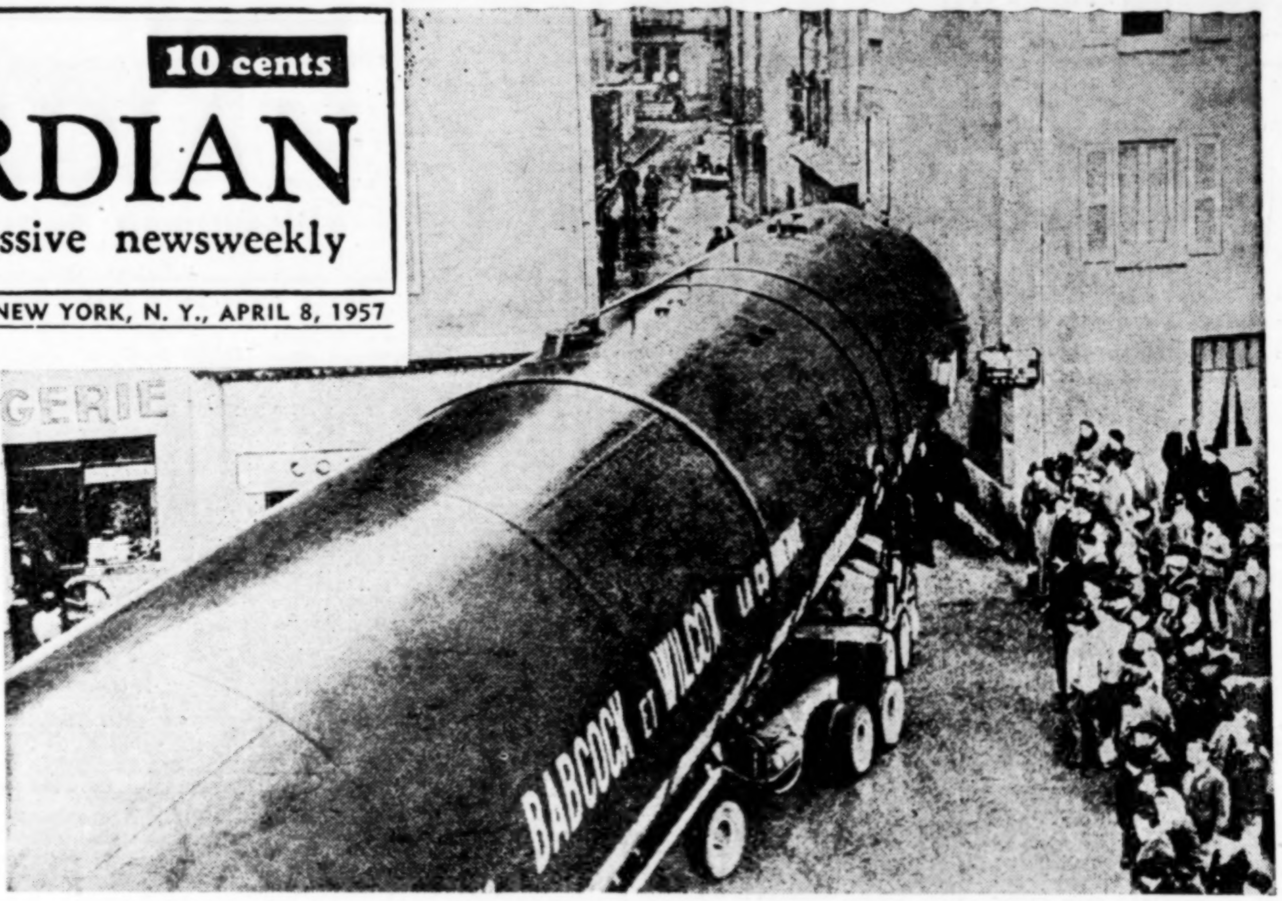


Hesse in St. Louis Globe-Democrat

"It's under control—isn't it, Foster?"



THEY SHOULD HAVE THOUGHT OF THESE THINGS BEFORE THEY SPLIT THE ATOM

A 163-foot cylinder for an atomic plant is snaked through an ancient village street near Chartres, France. It took days for the "atomic centipede" to be pushed, pulled and squeezed a distance of 50 miles.

'PEACE NAVY' PLAN FOR CHRISTMAS ISLAND

Couple to sail into H-bomb test zone

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

HAROLD AND SHEILA STEELE, British Quaker parents of three children, took the center of the stage last month in a gathering storm over their government's impending H-bomb tests. They said they would use all their savings to fly to Japan, and from there would sail into the Christmas Island danger zone as a "willing sacrifice to prove to the world the horror of the devilish device."

Their 13-year-old son Hugh told a meeting of his schoolfellows: "This is what my Dad is doing. What are you all doing?" The idea of joining a "Peace Navy" to picket the test zone caught on. From Britain and many other countries people offered to join up or to contribute money; in one day the newly-formed Natl. Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests (29 Great James St., London WC 1) received 500 letters.

A Japanese businessman offered to pay the Steeles' fare to Japan. Japanese press reports said a 1,000-ton ship or two fishing vessels would be chartered. In Tokyo, the Japan Council Against Atomic & Hydrogen Weapons reported 7,000 applications to join the "Peace Navy". At the foot of the Hiroshima memorial, four radiation victims of the 1945 atomic holocaust began a hunger strike to continue until a world agreement to ban further tests.

BRITISH ROUSED: With a month before the Christmas Island deadline, the wave of protest led by Indian and Polish Premiers Nehru and Cyrankiewicz, and by such religious groups as the Quakers, Dutch Reformed and British Free churches, was swelling around the world. In London, where a mass Trafalgar Square rally was being planned, the climate in press and Parliament suggested that popular indignation would soon be running higher than during the Suez adventure.

The danger was that the Labour Party, caught in a squeeze by Tory maneuvering of the parliamentary time-table, might miss the tide. Returning from the Bermuda conference, Prime Minister Macmillan faced a daily barrage of questions about the changed policy on tests to which the U.S. had apparently committed him—"as part of the price," said one cynical Labourite, "for restoring our satellite status." Even the **Times** pointed out that Britain, which only recently stated its readiness to discuss test limitation apart from general disarmament, had "once again eaten her words almost as soon as they were spoken . . . We are back where we started, which means that everyone is free to go on putting strontium in our bones as often as he likes." Beaverbrook's fire-eating **Express** ran a cartoon showing the inevitable result of the Christmas Island test—France, Germany and other "second-class powers" standing in line to test their own mass-destruction devices and condemn more of the unborn to cancer of the blood and bone.

BERMUDA REHASH: Although it has

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DAVE BECK—AND AFTER

Is labor sticking its head into a Congressional noose?

THE MERGED U.S. labor movement was in the curious position last week of applauding a Congressional probe of its affairs which could possibly result in the most stringent governmental curbs since the Taft-Hartley law was adopted in 1947.

The official **AFL-CIO News** said editorially in its March 30 issue: "The McClellan Committee, needless to say, is not a court of law. On the other hand, it is not, on the record of the first few weeks, a witch-hunting group nor a group of irresponsibles. To date, it has performed a public service in bringing to light facts and figures which only a governmental agency could uncover . . . In other words: what has been harmful to labor during the first few weeks of the hearing has been not the committee but the practices and attitudes it has brought to light."

BECK IS SUSPENDED: On March 29 the AFL-CIO executive council in an emergency session in Washington voted unanimously to suspend Dave Beck, president of the powerful Teamsters Union, as a council member and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. Beck had invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer committee questions concerning his handling of union funds. The council also directed that charges of "malfeasance" and "maladministration" be filed against Beck and set May 20 for a hearing at which Beck would be invited to defend himself. The organization's Ethical Practices Committee, which now forbids union officials to invoke the Fifth Amendment, was directed to investigate charges "to determine whether the Teamsters International is substantially dominated or controlled by corrupt influences."

But not all unions were cheering the Congressional probe, which is scheduled

(Continued on Page 8)

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THE MAIL BAG

No wolf-packer, he

WHITNEY, TEX.

Seeing that there is a wolf-pack yelping at the heels of the socialist countries, I have declined to go along with many socialists, communists and liberals who have joined the pack on the theory that that is the way to reform the bad things in the socialist countries.

Let the wolf-pack be called off and I shall be in favor of establishing democracy wherever it does not exist. I may not altogether agree with the GUARDIAN but it is in the hands of experienced newspaper men [and women—ed.] and makes an effort to print the other side of the story. **Name Withheld**

Turn on the heat

BRONX, N.Y.

With a dose of torrid brotherhood we can extinguish hot and cold wars. **L. Heiman**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

There was one bright spot in an otherwise tiresome day (at the Senate hearing) for the 59-year-old Teamster vice president (Frank Brewster). He said that he had always fought Communists and was "as far away from communism as Sen. McCarthy."

Sen. Karl Mundt told Brewster, "You have some pretty sound basic concepts of Americanism in your system."

—Wash. **Post**, 2/20

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Stanley Howard, Washington, D.C.

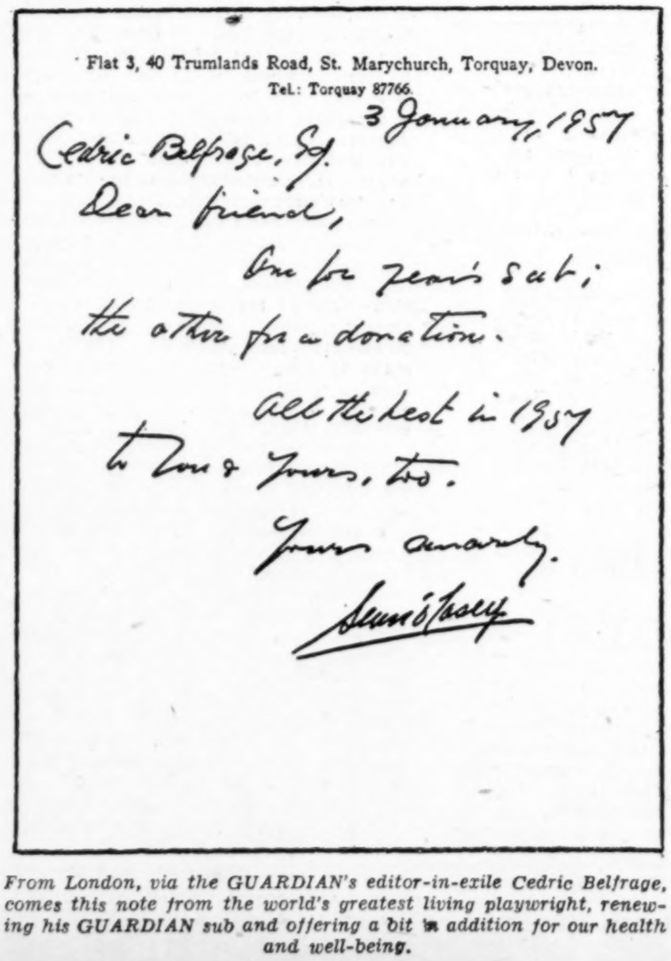
Farm problem

BOONE, IOWA

Money is very slow with me—chicken prices are: stags five to seven cents; hens, six to nine cents per lb.; hogs 12 to 20 cents per lb. Eggs are from 12 to 25 cents now, never over 32 cents since November, and a year ago No. 1's were around 50 cents.

Then over the radio and in the papers every day we hear about how terrible it is in other countries. **J. F. Gustafson**

A letter to us from Sean O'Casey



Flat 3, 40 Trumlands Road, St. Marychurch, Torquay, Devon.
Tel.: Torquay 87766.

3 January, 1957

Cedric Belfrage, Esq.

Dear friend,

One for year's sub;
the other for a donation.

All the best in 1957
to you & yours, too.

Yours warmly.

Sean O'Casey

From London, via the GUARDIAN's editor-in-exile Cedric Belfrage, comes this note from the world's greatest living playwright, renewing his GUARDIAN sub and offering a bit in addition for our health and well-being.

View from the campus

UNIV. OF CALIF., L.A.

I have read your paper for some years now and find it is the only paper that I can feel "good" about reading. The spirit of open inquiry is something which I find very lacking on our campus, and I'm not the only one! Well, anyhow, I'm a student and money passes quickly through our erudite fingers. But now I'm sending you $3 for another year of news for freedom. **Lew Merkelson**

Footwork

ERWIN TENN.

On June 16, 1956, Secy. of State John Foster Dulles had breakfast with Cardinal Spellman. A few hours later he watched his son, Avery become a full-fledged Jesuit priest.

Nice footwork: this international cartel lawyer and millionaire working hand-in-glove with the Vatican. Witness his unceasing aid and comfort to the fascist Catholic butchers Franco, Trujillo, Somoza, Batista et al, not to mention his brother Allen Dulles' cooperation with the Vatican in the recent unsuccessful attempt to drag Hungary back into fascism.

Keep an eye on the stepped-up infiltration by Vatican personnel of the State Dept., Supreme Court, Post Office, Pentagon, even the White House staff. **Ernest Seeman**

Mote & beam

PENOBSQUIS, N.B.

U.S. and Canadian bourgeois press is making much of the rehabilitation in the U.S.S.R., Poland, etc., of men who were executed after being convicted on false evidence. A very bad business. But, may I ask, have the courts of Utah cleared the name of Joe Hill? Have the courts of Mass. cleared the reputation of Sacco and Vanzetti? Have they done all in their power to right the great wrongs that were done? To me it is a sign of strength in the socialist world to clean the dirt up right to the source. It is a sign of weakness in the governing class in the U. S. A. not to admit its own crimes and errors. The mote and the beam. **Herman Fillmore**

Good wine

SUN VALLEY, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN, like good wine, appears to be getting better with age. I am especially happy to see a more critical, less doctrinaire approach in recent months, reflecting the growing awareness throughout the socialist world that mankind's problems can be solved only through untrammeled discussion. **Herbert Aronson**

Cold world

SITKA, ALASKA

Capitalism and religion are in union to keep the workers and producers of the world in suppression. **Owen Rademacher**

Subversive idea

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Would you be in favor of Congress passing a bill to this effect: "Any person who violates, or attempts or conspires to violate the Constitution of the United States—and who is convicted of the same—shall be sentenced to from five to 20 years in prison."

If neither the Dems, nor Reps. will support such a bill, it might be the foundation for a new party.

Would it not be ironic if a movement to enforce the Constitution by such a bill were to be labeled "subversive" (destructive of the Constitution)? **Name Withheld**

A better bounce

EL CAJON, CALIF.

If Dicky boy had bounced over to Montgomery while the bus boycott was on he would, in my opinion, have made a much better impression on the African leaders than he has by going to Ghana. **Robert Karger**

More Mailbag on P. 11

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REPORT TO READERS

The Matles story

LABOR AND THE NATION are confronted with a counterpart of the denaturalization frameup waged by the government against West Coast longshore union leader Harry Bridges for 15 years, until Bridges won the final round in 1955.

The new case is that of James J. Matles, Rumanian-born director of organization of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, independent (see p. 5). Matles' citizenship, gained in 1934—five years after he came to this country at 19—was revoked by a Federal judge in Brooklyn after a six-week trial straight out of Alice in Wonderland.

Three paid witnesses did the job on Matles. One, a notorious labor spy exposed by Matles in the late 30's, testified that Matles had told him in 1934 to "get ready for the revolution." Another, Maurice Malkin, used by the government in some 50 witchhunt proceedings, was discredited last year by Federal Judge Westover in Los Angeles in terminating denaturalization proceedings against Rose Chernin Kusnitz. The third, Joseph Zack Kornfeder, swore he knew Matles as a Communist in 1925. At that time Matles was a boy of 15, working in Rumania to help support his mother and family—and he produced documents at the trial to prove it. Matles' 80-year-old mother affirmed this; dozens of UE leaders and rank-and-filers testified in Matles' behalf; and former Presidential assistant John R. Steelman was a character witness.

THE JUDGE in the Matles case swallowed the stoolpigeon testimony whole, or said he did. He refused to permit the defense to recall Kornfeder for cross-examination when his perjury was made evident; and in his decision he referred to the labor spy as "a truthful, reliable witness."

Across the continent Harry Bridges commented in his union's newspaper, **The Dispatcher:**

"There's no doubt that Matles has done plenty in his life, as a union organizer, to make enemies. And these enemies, when they couldn't smash his union or get the membership to vote him out of office, have inspired the denaturalization proceedings."

ONE ENEMY Matles cheerfully made was Sen. Joseph McCarthy, who summoned him four years ago in the course of the Senator's union-busting activities for General Electric at the Schenectady and Lynn plants.

"When you accuse me of spying, and when you accuse decent working people in Schenectady and Lynn of spying and sabotage, you are lying," Matles stated. "Senator McCarthy, you are a liar!"

He turned to McCarthy's counsel, Roy Cohn, whose crony David Schine had just been called up for Army service.

"Where's your pal Schine?" Matles asked Cohn. "Why aren't you in uniform, Cohn? I did my time in the Army, what are you afraid of?"

Then, to McCarthy and Cohn together:

"You have been trying to frame me on my non-communist affidavits for three years, the pair of you, and you haven't done it yet. Let me ask you a question: are you a spy? That question is as good coming from me to you as coming from you to me."

McCarthy ended the hearing with a remark which should be all too familiar to GUARDIAN readers who recall McCarthy's part in the Belfrage deportation case:

"Come on, Cohn, we are wasting our time," he said. "Let's get the immigration authorities in here and get this man deported."

MATLES' UNION intends to carry the fight for his citizenship to the Supreme Court if necessary. Its pamphlet on the case, **Brownell, Eastland, McCarthy vs. Matles,** makes this observation:

"In the Matles case Brownell is saying to the foreign-born union men and women of America: 'Your citizenship is a favor, a company favor, and if you don't stand in good with the boss, the government will step in for him and take your citizenship away'."

To you the union says:

"The people can defeat this attack . . . It is a job for all of us. Write to President Eisenhower protesting the action of his attorney-general . . . Tell your friends and neighbors . . . members of other unions. Urge them to protest, too."

To this we say "Amen." The Bridges, Kusnitz and other cases prove these fights can be won; and the fighters strengthened in the process. Write today!

—THE GUARDIAN

FIFTEEN MEMBERS of a Chicago gang, The Rebels, line the coroner's bench facing a collective charge of murder. Last month, during an expedition to "get a nigger," one of the group smashed the skull of a Negro teen-ager who stood alone on a corner waiting for a bus. Sole qualification for membership in the gang was said to be "strong opposition to authority." The Rebels were well known in the neighborhood and had been in scrapes before, but none of the parents could offer an explanation for their sons' action. One mother said: "They have clothes to wear, good things to eat and a church to go to. It's beyond me." Milkman William Schwartz, father of the boy who wielded the death hammer, said: "Now what will my customers think of me?" His son had left home several days before the murder after a fight over his contributing to his board. The mother is in a mental institution. At the hearing Coroner William McCarron lectured on "parental delinquency" and added: "Good government begins at home." But the parents, who had done little to end violence and race hate in the adult world, might never get the chance to clean their houses. Government attorney Benjamin Adamowski said he would ask for the death penalty for the entire group. Their ages range from 16 to 18.

BALLOT HELD ESSENTIAL IN INTEGRATION FIGHT

Negroes press right to vote in the South

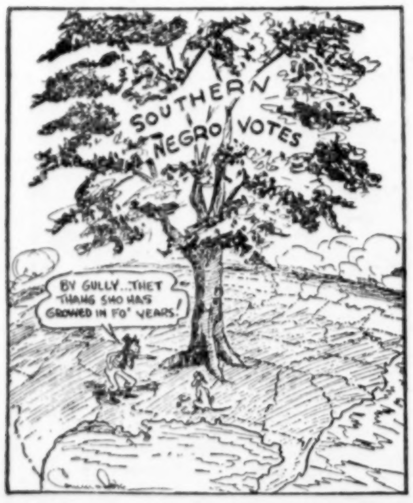
By Eugene Gordon

AUSTIN T. WALDEN is a Negro civil rights attorney and president of Georgia's Assn. of Citizens Democratic Clubs. Last month he appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights with "refugees from Dixie terror." Acting chairman Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) was briefed on Walden, but he asked what he was there for. Walden began his reply from a prepared statement:

"I am a native of Georgia. As a volunteer, I served as a captain of infantry and assistant judge advocate in World War I. I am and have been for 45 years a practitioner at the Georgia Bar. I am an elective member of the Democratic Executive Committee of the City of Atlanta . . . in charge of arranging for and holding all municipal primaries in that city . . ."

OLNEY'S CHARGES: He said he and the "refugees" came to testify to the accuracy of charges made by Asst. U.S. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III last Oct. 10 before the Senate Privileges and Elections Subcommittee on "illegal purges of Negro registrants' names" from Southern voting rolls. Walden added: "I have appeared as counsel in many such cases."

Sen. Ervin questioned Walden's right to complain. Wasn't he "one of the wealthy men of Georgia"? Even if it were true it would be immaterial to the issue before the committee, Walden answered. He was present, he explained, on behalf of disfranchised fellow citizens.



SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTES
BY GULLY...THET THANG SHO HAS GROWED IN FO' YEARS!

Chicago Defender

A tree grows in the Southland

A LONG, LONG STORY: The Senator said he had heard much about the witness' high standing as a lawyer. Didn't such success indicate "what a man of your race can achieve in the South"?

Walden said that if it were pertinent to the issue, the story of his struggle to get where he was might run so long they would tire of listening: "But I'll repeat how I had to go to a Midwest state to study law, because Georgia denied my people—and still does—the right to that training in its university, while opening its doors to foreigners from all over the world."

Sen. Ervin lost interest. He seemed hardly to be listening to Walden's detailed account of "threats, intimidation, economic reprisals, cross-burnings in our neighborhoods on nights before elections"—all to frighten Negroes from the polls.

GHANA AND US: As Walden testified in Washington, his fellow Atlantan John Wesley Dobbs, president of Georgia's [Negro] Voters League, was in Ghana, as Prime Minister Nkrumah's guest, to celebrate the birth of the Negro state. Inspired by his experience, Dobbs said in New York last week that, hand in hand with their non-violent struggle for all-around integration, Negroes in the South will carry on a Register-and-Vote campaign. He spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

THE REASON WHY: He said the Gold Coast did not become "free Ghana" until the people could vote; "and the United States will never be a free country until all its citizens are free to vote." The reason it was hard to get Negroes to the ballot box in the South, he said, was that though the "white primary" is largely outlawed, Negroes are intimidated not only with threats but with death.

He cited the Mississippi murders of the Rev. George Washington Lee and Lamar Smith, and the attempt to murder Gus Courts because they tried to vote. The Voters League's persistence despite threats, he said, had boosted the number of Georgia Negroes qualified to vote "from 10,000 of a few years ago" to 163,000 today.

Dobbs said that few Georgia counties "absolutely refuse nowadays" to register Negroes, but the sight of men "with guns strapped around their waists" keeps registration down. The League hopes for at least 300,000 registered six months before next year's Congressional elections, he said.

"THE ENTIRE SOUTH": Dobbs asserted that Negroes "hold the opinion now that fraternal orders, churches, social clubs, civic organizations — **all** must be used for their political advancement" and this statement was being confirmed in several southern communities.

The Pittsburgh **Courier** (3/2) said that the recent Southern Leadership Conference in New Orleans—where the "Prayer Pilgrimage" to Washington was proposed—represented "the entire South." The list of nearly 100 organizations participating contains such politically-conscious groups as Knoxville's Associated Council for Full Citizenship, Mississippi's Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Kansas' Congress of Racial Equality, Atlanta's Fulton County Voters Assn. and Birmingham's Christian Movement for Human Rights. Montgomery's Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. is president.

OUACHITA PARISH: The Eisenhower Administration's sensitivity to the Southern Negroes' political stirrings was demonstrated last month when the Justice Dept. contradicted sharply Louisiana Atty. Gen. Gremillion's denial of Negro disfranchisement. Asst. Atty. Gen. Olney's letter to House Judiciary Committee chairman Celler (D-N.Y.) disclosed a variety of FBI findings against Louisiana. Among them was evidence that 3,000 Negro voters had been illegally removed from the Ouachita Parish rolls; that Negro applicants were asked arbitrary questions about the Constitution and our form of government and were automatically told that the answers were wrong. The applicants were then told to return "after the next" election.

THE COUNCILS MOVE IN: Ouachita Parish at the beginning of 1956 had 5,782 registered Negro voters out of a total registration of 29.966. The population of Ouachita Parish was 74,276. From the county seat, Monroe, the Pittsburgh **Courier** (2/23) reported: "This quiet, peaceful city of 38,572 souls . . . [was] an outstanding example of bi-racial amity." Then the Assn. of Citizens Councils of Louisiana moved in and got a charter. The NACCP had been outlawed, so the WCC "challenged some 5,000 registered Negro voters [and more than] 4,000 . . . were unable to gain access to the overcrowded registration office and protect their voting rights."

Negroes got a charter for their Guiding Voice, Inc., and went to court. Though they apparently had the prestige of the Justice Dept. behind them, they were accused by Federal Judge Ben C. Dawkins of "bad faith . . sheer stubborn vindictiveness" in filing suit.

In Florida, Tallahassee's anti-jimcrow bus movement has started a "ballots-instead-of-bullets" campaign and pledged to enter candidates in all local elections. In future issues the GUARDIAN will report the progress of similar movements in other areas.

RULED UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Padlock Law out in Quebec after a 20-year fight

LAST MONTH there was great rejoicing among democratic-minded Canadians: they were celebrating the March 8 Supreme Court decision declaring Quebec's Padlock Law unconstitutional.

Officially entitled "An Act to Protect the Province Against Communist Propaganda," the Padlock Law was enacted in 1937 under Quebec's Premier Maurice Duplessis. Introduced at a time when organized labor in Canada was showing increasing militancy, the law contained these main provisions: no home in Quebec could be used to "propagandize Communism or Bolshevism"; Quebec's attorney general could padlock any home or establishment for a maximum of one year if convinced it was being used for such a purpose; no one could publish or distribute any leaflet, pamphlet, circular or newspaper propagandizing communism; distributors or publishers were subject to three-year minimum prison terms; police could confiscate all such material.

DRAGNET LAW: Ostensibly aimed at "Communist propaganda," the Quebec government for 20 years stretched it to terrorize trade unions and even mildly liberal organizations as well as individuals. In its early stages, it was used especially against Jewish, Ukrainian, Russian and other minority organizations. Duplessis ran the show for most of the 20 years.

The police raided organizations, private homes and institutions and jammed the basements of police stations with confiscated books, periodicals, literature and private correspondence. From the Jewish Cultural Center, for example, they removed 2,000 volumes of literature, including the Jewish classics. Among the homes raided was that of N.Y. **Times** correspondent John MacCormac, who had criticised the Padlock Law.

THE LONG FIGHT: Strong protests came from trade unions, civic organizations, churchmen and newspapers. They condemned the law as an infringement on Canadian democracy.

Many times the issue was fought out in the lower courts without success. The last and successful effort to take the issue to the Supreme Court was launched in 1954 by the Montreal Civil Liberties Union, which took up the case of John Switzman, whose apartment was padlocked in 1949. Switzman's landlady sued him for non-payment of rent and other damages during the time his apartment was padlocked. Switzman fought this action, on the grounds that the Padlock Law was unconstitutional.

On March 8 Canada's Supreme Court in an 8-1 decision declared the Padlock Law unconstitutional. Speaking for the majority, Justice Douglas Abbott said: "The right of free expression of opinion and of criticism, upon matters of public policy and public administration and the right to debate such matters, whether they be social, economic or political, are essential to the working of a parliamentary democracy." As what might be considered an implied rebuke to the federal government's 20-year silence on this issue, Abbott added: "Parliament itself could not abrogate this right of discussion and debate."

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH RADICAL LEADER

The voice of opposition in a troubled Argentina

ARGENTINES have been waiting for a taste of democracy ever since Juan Peron's downfall in September, 1955. Provisional President Maj. Gen. Pedro E. Aramburu has been promising elections since he led a military putsch that ousted the regime of Maj. Gen. Eduardo Lonardi, who lasted scarcely two months after Peron. Through most of 1956 Aramburu promised elections in 1957. As 1957 opened he promised he would yield his office by May, 1958.

Aramburu has scheduled a Constituent Assembly for next July to rewrite the Constitution and change electoral laws before the election. Argentina is being run under the pre-Peron Constitution, heavily flavored with Aramburu's emergency decrees. As in Peron's day, the jails are filled with oppositionists and the atmosphere is only slightly less oppressive.

THE OPPOSITION: Aramburu's backers in military and land-owning circles have banked heavily on the opposition remaining scattered and leaderless, the prey of nostalgia for Peron in some quarters and the ambitions of politicians. Foremost in the opposition is the labor movement, still dominated by Peronista thinking. (Peron had bribed the unions with enough solid concessions to win their loyalty.) Peronistas have been jailed. Trade union leaders, Peronista or otherwise, have been replaced by government-approved officials.

This has not weakened labor's opposition but left it leaderless. As hopes of a restoration dwindle, and as juicy revelations of scandal whittle away Peron's reputation, the labor movement has been looking for other political forms. The fairly strong and rapidly growing Communist Party has been ruled off the ballot, along with smaller parties, though it is not illegal.

THE RADICAL LEADER: The Radical Party survived as an opposition voice—however tamed and harmless—during the Peron era. Until recently it had been a large but amorphous group appealing mainly to professionals and the middle class, at times mildly anti-clerical. There are some Radical leaders who see their party as the rallying point for all the manifold discontent in Argentina and, above all, of the labor movement. Their leader is 48-year-old Dr. Arturo Frondizi who long ago sought to compete with Peron for labor's allegiance. In 1946, when he was a Radical Party deputy, he led a decisive strike of the Packinghouse Workers. When he last ran for office, for Vice-President in 1951, the party polled 2½ million votes. (Peron got 4½ million.) He is openly bidding for support from all quarters. He has said he will accept Communist votes, though he will enter into no alliance with them or actively seek their support.

GEN. PEDRO ARAMBURU
He likes the landlords

When he was nominated by his party last November he alienated many right-wing politicians who, unless he shows overwhelming strength at the Constitutional Convention, may desert him.

THE INTERVIEW: Dr. Frondizi last month granted the GUARDIAN's Ursula Wassermann an exclusive interview in Buenos Aires. Here are some of her questions and his answers:

Q. What are the main social, political and economic problems facing Argentina today?

A. In the economic field, it is to regain the tempo of development we maintained during the first 30 years of this century. The increase in population has surpassed agricultural production and we shall be faced with a gradual impoverishment unless we discover new sources of wealth and production. The most essential objectives to be pursued by the next constitutional government are the exploitation of all sources of energy, the implementation of a national iron and steel industry and the promotion of industrial efficiency in all branches of the economy.

A PLANNED ECONOMY? Q. If elected to the Presidency, to what extent do you intend to reorganize the Argentine economy, for example, along the lines of the British Labour Party's "welfare state" or Roosevelt's New Deal?

A. We find ourselves in a specific situation with strong national characteristics, differing both from that which faced Labour at the end of the war or Roosevelt at the time of the great depression. I believe a great part of government intervention in Argentina can be done away with. I firmly believe the state must exercise control over that part of the economy which is of vital interest to the nation as a whole; apart from that private enterprise must have free reign.

[The public vs. private development controversy in Argentina at the moment hinges largely on (1) public utilities, which the conservatives are anxious to turn over to private enterprise, and (2) oil, which is so sacred a national property that few conservatives have been bold enough to pave the way for eager U.S. companies, though back-door deals are repeatedly attempted. Even under Peron the Argentine Congress repeatedly voted down these proposals. These fields are generally regarded as "of vital interest to the nation."]

LAND CRISIS: Q. How do you plan to deal with what is known as the "chronic crisis" in Argentine agriculture?

A. The so-called agricultural crisis is caused simply by the monopoly economy which operates in the most fertile regions of this country, aggravated by an out-dated system of land-tenure, erosion and general impoverishment of the soil. Expansion of production presupposes new legislation regarding land-tenure and a technological revolution including mechanization, the use of fertilizers, increased productivity and such anti-erosion measures as the U.S. introduced some decades ago. As for the diversification of agricultural production, there exists today an even more crying need for moving in this direction, since world market conditions no longer favor our former main export, cereals. The shortage of man-power in agriculture can be dealt with by means of increased mechanization.

[Though Argentina is primarily an agricultural country most of the population is in the cities. People were driven from the land by starvation wages on the large ranches and wheat farms owned by a handful of cattle baron. The power of the land-owners was never touched by Peron and land reform, the nation's key problem, was paid only lip service.]

DR. ARTURO FRONDIZI
He looks to labor

FOREIGN INVESTMENT: Q. What are your party's plans for the establishing of heavy industry?

A. The economic development of the U.S. constitutes a valid example for Argentina, in so far as we are faced with similar problems today as existed there in the past century. Industrial development has become a necessity for the full integration of our national economy. This calls necessarily for an adequate heavy industry, which the State must help to establish without, however, hampering private activity.

Q. It has been said, both here and abroad, that you oppose any foreign capital investment. Is this statement correct?

A. As a large and rich country, Argentina will be able to develop on the basis of her own natural resources. Our speedy development will, however, depend on the extent to which we will be able to rely on equitable and favorable treatment by other nations. We are interested in the full development of our interior which implies the establishment of a vast network of hydro-electric power. We need equipment for our mining industries; we are bound to establish new industries in every part of the country; we must increase the potential of our steel and chemical industries—to name only a few branches of economic activity in which foreign capital could play a vital part. The Argentine people will welcome all technical and financial aid which will contribute toward the full integration of our economy. Foreign capital will operate under the identical laws as national capital.

TRADE ABROAD: Q. Will you, if elected, favor a policy of unrestricted trade with all nations, including the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia?

A. By virtue of the very character of our exports (cereals, meat, hides and skins, wool) and the increasing difficulties which we face in the world market, we shall be obliged to explore all possibilities in the field of foreign trade. This is a vital economic problem which cannot be solved on the basis of political considerations.

Q. What are your views on the Middle Eastern crisis?

A. I firmly believe in the principles of national self-determination. The conflicting interests in the Middle East, powerful as they are, must not be allowed to interfere with the peaceful interchange among those nations which supply the raw materials and those which demand them. I am firmly opposed to all acts of violence directed toward the subjugation of less developed countries which are less able to defend themselves. In this era of nationalism, all those who oppose the independent development of these countries are bound to meet with eventual failure. Any intervention—under whatever pretext—which aims at stifling the progress toward national independence will end in hatred against the interventionists and solidarity with the victims.

NO APOLOGY ON NEGRO BAN

El Salvador tells U. S. to solve own race problem first

THE CHARGE MADE in Congress by Rep. Torbert Hart Macdonald (D-Mass.) that El Salvador had barred a minister from a Brotherhood Week visit because he was a Negro, stirred bitter reactions from Salvadorean officials. These insisted that the minister's visa was held up due to red tape, not anti-Negro prejudice, but admitted there was a clause in their Migration Act that needed amending.

Rep. Macdonald told how the Rev. Oscar G. Phillips of the Shiloh Baptist Church in Medford, Mass., and his wife were among those chosen by the Mass. Baptist Ministers Assn. to take the good-will tour of Central America. The rest of the party, 33 white ministers, had no trouble in getting their visas. El Salvador delayed granting the Phillips' theirs until the tour had been completed. The Minister's Assn. filed a formal protest.

According to the Congressman, El Salvador consular officials in New York cited chapter 3, article 25, section 14 of the migration law which, they said, denied even transit visas to Negroes. Rep. Macdonald itemized the sums spent by the U.S. in El Salvador and added: "I feel strongly that no longer should American tax dollars be taken for granted by countries such as El Salvador who refuse to treat all American citizens as first-class citizens of this country."

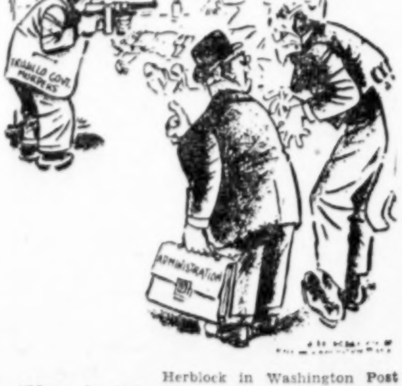
THE LOST LAW: The GUARDIAN carried the story on March 25 after vainly trying to get El Salvador's N.Y. Consul General Fernando Trebanino to read the section of the law cited by Rep. Macdonald. Last week the Consulate still reported that that section of the law could not be located but sent instead a copy of an article in the San Salvador daily **Prensa Grafica** of March 13.

The newspaper quoted an official government spokesman: "The fact that the U.S. buys a good part of Salvador's production does not in any way mean that we are receiving from that country a free grant. The reciprocation is doubled inasmuch as if we sell them, the U.S. also sells us its products. The North American Congressman ought to concern himself with resolving the internal racial problem of the U.S. instead of uttering veiled threats of economic repression against our country . . ."

DEFERRED HARMONY: The spokesman was quoted as attributing the whole incident to routine delays. However, he did not explain how the entry of the white ministers and their wives was facilitated while the lone Negro couple was delayed.

But the official added: "It is true that in the migration laws there exist certain articles which prohibit the entry into the country of certain persons." He said that the ban was superseded by the Constitution which forbids discrimination and the migration laws were being revised.

It was the nearest thing to an admission and an apology from El Salvador.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Now, in this case, we recognize the government, but we don't see the machine gun."

CIVIL LIBERTIES ROUNDUP

Another newsman convicted; Matles citizenship revoked

By Lawrence Emery

SEYMOUR PECK, N. Y. **Times** staff member, became the third newsman convicted of contempt of Congress recently for refusing, under the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press, to answer questions before Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee. A Washington, D.C., jury on March 26 took only 30 minutes to find him guilty on five counts.

Convicted earlier were William A. Price, former reporter for the N.Y. **Daily News**, and Robert Shelton of the **Times**. A fourth newsman indicted at the same time, Alden Whitman, also of the **Times**, is still to be tried.

A highlight of the Peck trial, conducted before U.S. District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, was the appearance on the witness stand of Sen. Eastland. Although he had been subpenaed by defense attorneys Joseph A. Fanelli and Telford Taylor, he announced that he was appearing voluntarily as a witness for the government.

VERY SENSITIVE: The defense contended that the Eastland probe had invaded the freedom of the press, a field in which Congress has no power to legislate, and that questions put to Peck concerning his beliefs and associates could serve no valid legislative purpose. Eastland swore that his subcommittee never contemplated legislation infringing on freedom of the press. The defense read excerpts from the original hearings to show that newspaper content had been under question, but Eastland denied that this was the subcommittee's purpose.

Instead, he said, it had evidence that Russians were engaged in efforts to recruit spies in newspaper ranks: "I could not imagine a more sensitive field and I wanted to find out how far the recruiting had gone."

Judge Youngdahl, following Eastland's appearance, denied a motion for a directed acquittal. The only question for the jury to decide in the trial that followed was whether Peck had been guilty of "willful" contempt in refusing to answer.

LIVERIGHT SENTENCED: Herman Liveright, a former New Orleans TV program director who was convicted on a contempt charge arising from the same hearing, was sentenced during the Peck trial to three months in prison and a $500 fine. Judge Richmond B. Keech denied a plea for suspended sentence made on the ground that the major issue in the Liveright case is now before the Supreme Court and is involved in at least six other cases now in the courts.

Liveright, twice offered a chance to "purge" himself by answering the questions, stood on his "deep conviction" that refusal to inform on others is a "natural right" of every citizen.

CHICAGO HEARINGS: While Eastland comittee victims were being disposed of, the House Committee on Un-American Activities was cut trying to drum up more of its own. It followed up an assault on left-wing and foreign-language writers and editors in New York with a similar foray in Chicago (see box below). But its stay there was fore-shortened by some advance stirring up of public opinion by the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms headed by Harvey O'Connor and Carl Braden. The committee wrote to every newspaper, radio and TV editor in the city, distributed a special pamphlet, called for protests and urged attendance at the hearings.

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3 MORE INDICTED: In New York during the same week three earlier victims of the House Committee were indicted for contempt by a Federal grand jury. They were folk-singer Pete Seeger and actors George Tyne and Elliott Sullivan. They had refused to answer questions under the First Amendment during a probe of show business in 1955.

MATLES LOSES: Also during the same week labor leader James J. Matles, director of organization for the independent United Electrical Workers, had his citizenship revoked by Federal Judge Walter Bruchhausen in Brooklyn. After a six-week trial he ruled that "Matles made a false answer when he denied that he belonged to or was associated with any organization teaching the overthrow of the government" and that he "committed fraud" when he took the oath of allegiance. Matles came to this country from Rumania in 1929 and was naturalized in 1934.

JUDGE LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL
He said the questions were pertinent

UE president Albert Fitzgerald, who had appeared as a witness for Matles, said: "We regard Judge Bruchhausen's decision . . . as a gross miscarriage of justice which, by the very nature of the case submitted by the Justice Dept., must rest on the testimony of two of the Justice Dept.'s most notorious paid professional witnesses and an admitted professional labor spy."

Defense attorney Frank J. Donner announced he would appeal "to the United States Supreme Court if necessary." Minority leader Eugene F. Bannigan of the N.Y. State Assembly, associated with the defense, announced that he would seek a Justice Dept. investigation of the testimony of Joseph Zack Kornfeder, one of the government's witnesses who has appeared in numerous deportation hearings.

PETE SEEGER
Sings for people, not committees

CP CHALLENGE: Back in Washington, attorneys for the Communist Party filed a 99-page brief challenging the Subversive Activities Control Board's finding that the CP is foreign-dominated and must register under the Internal Security Act. The registration order was handed down in 1953 but was returned to the Board last year by the Supreme Court because of the "tainted testimony" of three government witnesses, Manning Johnson, Harvey Matusow and the late Paul Crouch. The Board expunged their testimony but reaffirmed its order.

The defense now contends that the hearings were "saturated" with perjury and that at least six other government witnesses were unreliable. The brief declares that the testimony of one of these, Mary Stalcup Markward, in various cases forms "a pattern that reeks of perjury." The case now goes to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

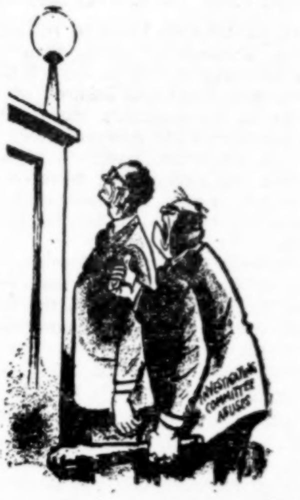
In another action before the SACB, hearings were resumed on charges that the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union is a "communist-infiltrated" union under the Communist Control Act.

LAWYERS PROTEST: On the brighter side, the California State Bar formally protested to Congress on the conduct of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during hearings held in Los Angeles last December. Committee counsel Richard Arens at that time asked witnesses if lawyers in the room were communists; one who was so identified he thereafter addressed as "comrade." Lawyers who attempted to protest this treatment were bodily ejected. The Board of Governors of the State Bar in its protest calls this "improper and lacking in dignity and impartiality" and "grossly offensive." It calls for "a system of committee procedure which will adequately protect the rights of witnesses and of counsel appearing for witnesses."

FRIENDS AND FIFTH: In Philadelphia the Friends Committee on Civil Liberties has just published a 32-page study on the history and use of the Fifth Amendment, which it said was undertaken because many citizens who invoke the Fifth Amendment are unfairly penalized and stigmatized, both by law-making bodies and private organizations. Among the latter it cites "most notably the great federation which now speaks for the bulk of organized labor in America" which has "adopted policies requiring the summary expulsion from membership of those who employ the right before Congressional committees."

The booklet urges Friends to "make no automatic and unthinking assumptions of guilt based on the use of the privilege." It expresses the hope that "Friends will come to see in the Fifth Amendment both a right which almost uniquely underscores and elevates the worth and dignity of the individual against the coercive power of government, and an expression of an enlightened and humane moral sense."

The booklet is on sale at the Friends Bookstore, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.



Washington Post
"Why should this guy have a conscience when I ain't got one?"

LANGUAGE PRESS A TARGET AGAIN

Chicago hearings a flop

Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

CHICAGO gave a big yawn when a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities appeared there March 26 and for half a day on March 27 for an inquiry into the foreign-language press, books and movies.

Even members of the subcommittee staff were yawning before the first day of the inquisition was over. They were joined by reporters for the Chicago newspapers which, for the most part, buried their stories about the hearing.

Rep. Doyle (D-Calif.), subcommittee chairman, and his colleague, Rep. Scherer (R-O.), spent huch time chewing over pamphlets and leaflets issued by the Committee to Preserve American Freedoms and the Chicago Committee for Freedom of Speech and the Press. Picketing by the latter group, which included students from the University of Chicago, also bothered the subcommittee.

THE REAL PURPOSE: Literature passed out by the committees accused the Un-Americans of challenging the right of Chicagoans to read newspapers, buy books and see films of their own choosing. This theme was stressed by the 11 editors, booksellers and movie exhibitors subpenaed.

Doyle and Scherer both admitted they had no right to legislate in the field of press and speech; that their purpose was to let the public know who was writing for the newspapers, selling books and exhibiting films. It was one of the baldest admissions yet that the purpose of the Un-American Committee and its counterpart in the Senate is exposure and not legislation.

All witnesses, except paid informer John Lautner, accused the subcommittee of violating their rights under the First and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Lautner told his usual tale about being subjected to indignities in a Cleveland cellar, but nobody cared.

LET'S GO, BOYS: Chicagoans who defied the subcommittee were Mrs. Nellie De Schaaf, Jacob Pauliukas and Leon Pruseika, all from the staff of **Vilnis**, a Lithuanian daily newspaper with a national circulation of 32,000; John Zuskar of the Slovak weekly, **Ludove Noviny**; Anthony Minerich of the Croation weekly, **Narodni Glasnik**; Otto Wangerin of the Modern Bookstore, and John Rossen of Cinema Annex Theater.

Others who gave the subcommittee a hard time were Wladislaw Kucharski of the Detroit Polish weekly, **Glos Ludowy**; Nicholas Markoff and Bocho Mircheff of the Detroit Bulgarian weekly, **Narodnya Volya**, and George Wastela of a Finnish paper published in Superior, Wisc.

The subcommittee had been billed for a three- or four-day stay, but it slunk out of town after less than two hours of inquisiting on the second day. Chicago didn't even take a second yawn.

THEY DON'T LIKE SEATO AND ITS BRISTLING ARMS

S-E Asia won't fight China for the West

By Kumar Goshal

(Second of two articles)

REPORTS of last month's SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organization) conference at Canberra, Australia, disclosed a brazen refusal on the part of the U.S. and Britain to accept the real situation in the area.

Since its inception, SEATO has emphasized the West's military might and soft-pedaled economic aid it had pledged to raise living standards among its few Asian members. The Canberra conference placed even greater stress on arms and totally neglected economic aid—even though SEATO's annual report admitted that chances of "Communist military aggression" from China were non-existent.

THE MILITARY FIRST: As if to eliminate all doubts about SEATO's main purpose, its military chiefs held their conference first, its politicians second. Secy. of State Dulles also emphasized that "U. S. military strength in the Pacific now was the greatest in history." Britain's spokesman, the Earl of Home, pledged to maintain in South-East Asia—especially in Malaya and Singapore—the most modern forces armed with nuclear weapons.

The conferees pretended to be unaware of the strong "neutralist" tendencies developing in the SEATO strongholds of Thailand, Malaya and Singapore, as well as in such non-member states as Laos, which had been placed under the SEATO umbrella.

THE THAILAND FRAUD: In the Feb. 26 national elections, Thailand's "strong-man" Premier Pibul Songgram's party won 85 of the 160 National Assembly seats contested. Pibul was assured of an overwhelming majority in the Assembly, since the government appoints an additional 160 Assemblymen.

As opposition parties vigorously protested election frauds, the government declared a state of emergency. This led to new demonstrations by thousands of students, the political barometer in underdeveloped countries.

Students in Bangkok lowered to half-mast the Thai flag at a school rally "in memory of dead democracy." Ten thousand marched to the Government House and were dispersed by tanks and machine-gunners led by Supreme Commander Sarit Thanarat. But even Thanarat conceded that the elections had been "completely dirty from all sides" (N. Y. **Times**, 3/3).

BLAME THE REDS: Pibul, of course, attributed all trouble to "Communist propaganda," and proceeded to form his government. The list of the government-appointed Assemblymen was heavily weighted with army and police officers.

In Bangkok, Thai Labor Party leader Prakov Tohaklam said the U.S. was seeking to set up atomic weapons bases in Thailand. He said his party would unite all opposition parties to block any such move. Simultaneously the Labor Party issued a statement urging a campaign for Thailand's withdrawal from SEATO and to oppose the establishment of foreign military bases.

Reflecting the popular sentiment, the Thai newspaper **Sathienraphab** (2/27) called for unrestricted trade with China and economic aid without strings from all countries. It also opposed SEATO bases on Thai territory as a prelude to meddling in the domestic affairs of neighboring states.

SONGGRAM & IKE—WASHINGTON, '55

He got the Legion of Merit then

NEGOTIATIONS IN LAOS: Laos was one of such neighboring states. **The Nation** (3/30) said the U.S. State Dept. "has been eyeing . . . with repugnance" negotiations going on in Laos to heal the breach between the government and the dissident left-wing Pathet Lao party.

Last Dec. 28 Pathet Lao leader Prince Souvanna Vong opened negotiations with his half-brother, Premier Prince Souphanou Phouma. Dulles and his colleagues at Canberra knew an agreement was near under which Pathet Lao would relinquish the two northern provinces it controls and disband or merge with the national forces its 25,000 soldiers. In return it would get ministerial posts in the government.

A COUP IN THE WIND? Washington failed last year to halt the negotiations even with a threat to cancel its $36 million subsidy to the Laotian army. Since then, **The Nation** said, to prevent Laotian unity Washington has been nursing the idea of installing a pro-American regime in Laos headed by its candidate, Vice-Premier Katay Sassorith. Sassorith is a rightist who publicly opposes "neutralism" and relations with the East.

In the light of Iran and Guatemala, a U.S.-inspired coup in Laos cannot be ruled out. "In advance of a possible political coup in Laos aimed at sweeping an American puppet regime into office," **The Nation** said, "it is well to remind ourselves that our own two princely brothers, Foster and Allen, would never be guilty of dirty work at the Laotian crosscroads."

SITUATION IN MALAYA: In Malaya also opposition to SEATO bases was increasing. The Malayan Federation is scheduled to become an equal member of the British Commonwealth on Aug. 31. The Federation will include the Sultanates of Johore, Kedat, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor and Trengganu, and the two "settlements" of Malacca and Penang.

Under a British-Malaya defense pact signed early this year, Britain would subsidize the Malayan army with $56 million for five years and would have the right to maintain its own and the Australian armed forces and military bases. The $56 million military aid can be called a subsidy only by courtesy, since Malaya is Britain's biggest dollar earner and has piled up a huge sterling balance in London.

COOL ON SEATO: Though agreeable to the bases, Federation Premier Tengku Abdul Rahman has shown little enthusiasm for closer ties with SEATO. The opposition Pan-Malayan Islamic Party has been urging a "peaceful solution" with the outlawed Communist Party ever since Rahman's negotiations with the CP in 1955 broke down over granting the CP legal status. The Islamic Party has also urged withdrawal of foreign troops. It said: "Never in history were colonial troops used to prop up the independence of the country in which they were stationed."

Last week, after prolonged secret conferences in London, a five-man all-party delegation from Singapore headed by Chief Minister Lim Yew Hock was reported to have reached an understanding with Britain about the island's future political status. A year ago negotiations between London and another delegation headed by the then Chief Minister David Marshall collapsed over Britain's insistence on controlling both the island's internal and external defense. This insistence, Marshall said at the time, made the British offer of self-government for Singapore a "Christmas pudding with arsenic sauce."

LOOKING TO 1958: It was unofficially reported that Britain now has agreed to control external defense measures only. The Singapore government will control internal defense and trade, commerce and cultural relations in external affairs.

Political observers predict that even British external control will hit a snag after the 1958 elections. In the delegation to London was the leader of the powerful, left-wing Peoples Action Party, Lee Kuan Yew, a reputed "neutralist" who favors a legal CP "as an exercise in democracy."

"Many students of politics in Singapore," the **Christian Science Monitor** (3/26) said, expect the Peoples Action Party to win in 1958. "Such a prospect," CSM said, "is unattractive to the British."

RESENTMENT INCREASES: All in all, SEATO's future seemed unpromising, even if it emphasized "purely defensive" intentions. "The Western military presence" in Asia, said Melbourne University professor W. Macmahon Ball (**The Nation** 3/16), "is increasingly resented by Asians . . . The South-East Asian nations want to be sure that these measures serve their own interests **as they see them**; not mainly Western interests nor even their own interests as Westerners see them."

Above all, South-East Asians refuse to be involved in any anti-China adventure, which is one of SEATO's main objectives. On the contrary, as Ball said, "all the governments of South-East Asia are eager . . . to forge links of mutual benefit between China, her neighbors and the West."

BRITISH UNIONS WIN FIRST ROUND

Inflation spiral worries Britain; guns AND butter too costly

By Gordon Schaffer

Special to the Guardian

THE BRITISH WORKERS have won the first battle in their bitter struggle to preserve their living standards. They have forced the Conservative Government to retreat from its declared intention to allow the cost of living to rise and to resist wage increases designed to make good the loss. For the first time in 30 years, the united working class showed its industrial power.

Unlike the great strike of 1926, it fought only on questions of wages and conditions, thus making it much more difficult for the government to use emergency state powers against them. The one use of arbitrary power by the Government—the calling in of naval men to get the Queen Mary away from Southhampton—would have led to a stoppage of all the ports if the Minister of Transport had not promised the unions he would not do it again. Faced with the united front, the Government did not dare face an all-out battle.

That is the background to the offer and acceptance of the 5% increase to the railwaymen and the Government pressure on the shipbuilding employers to abandon their tough attitude.

THEY BACK DOWN: Sir Brian Robertson, head of the state-owned railway, made his 5% offer over the head of an arbitration tribunal, a tribunal deliberately operating the Government's policy of restricting wage increases. Sir Brian would not have moved without Government agreement.

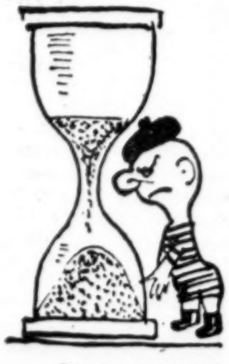
Some shipbuilding and metal industry employers were furious when they heard of the railway settlement. They accused the Government of selling them out. But now they too have—with conditions—accepted the 5% figure. The first million men in the "snowball" strike called in the metal industries effected 100% stoppages in 10 areas, and the unanimous response gave clear warning that if the plan to call out other areas progressively goes forward the whole industry will be paralyzed. If the employers in metal don't give way, 2,500,000 workers will be out by April 6—and the battle will be long and bitter.

INFLATIONARY SPIRAL: What next? First there can be no doubt that building workers, miners, shop assistants, port workers and a whole series of professional workers will now press their claims and will probably settle for about the 5% figure. But the inflationary situation will go on. As a result of the railway settlement, freight charges which add to the costs in every section of industry, will go up. The cost of living will rise again. In a few months, the unions will put in another claim.

The trade unions realise this, and a genuinely socialist government could ensure an economic policy designed to guard against the inflation spiral. But the present Government is still bent on improving the lot of the well-to-do. It bases its policy on tax concessions to encourage "enterprise" among the industrialists.

Under Prime Minister Macmillan's new slogan of the "Opportunity State" it is cutting social services wherever it can. With anger growing among the workers, there can be no compromise, however much some of the Labour leaders fear this new mood of militancy.

ARMS THE KEY: But a Labour Government would face much the same difficulties and would be unable to check the inflationary spiral without abandoning the attempt to keep pace in the armaments race. Britain cannot have guns AND butter—at the price of guns today.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Those Tory sands are running out okay!"

In the coming months, the employers will prepare for the next battle, hoping that fear of unemployment will make the workers less militant. The progressives in the Labour Party and the trade union movements will press for a reduction in arms expenditure and an end to colonial oppression to halt the spiral of inflation and prevent falling standards.

The Disarmament Commission now meeting in London has been virtually ignored by the newspapers. But there lies the key solution to the dangers threatening Britain's economy.

THE COSTLIEST GIVE-AWAY

Peaceful atom may turn deadly in private hands

By Elmer Bendiner

ATOMIC ENERGY officials have combined a curious timidity in stepping on the toes of private industry with a willingness to take calculated risks on the health of upcoming generations.

Administration spokesmen in Congress and the Atomic Energy Commission have been willing to see the U.S. drop behind Britain, the Soviet Union and even Western Europe in atomic power development rather than deter private capital from the lush fields of the new industry.

It is not altogether a matter of conserving public funds. The government has spent freely on basic research and on the construction of test reactors. Big Business has been offered every inducement to reap the profits from this publicly-initiated development but has so far stared the gift-horse steadily in the mouth.

ALL GAIN, NO RISK: Francis K. McCune, vice president and general manager of General Electric's atomic products division, last week told the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that unless the government insured business against loss by accident, his company would halt its work on present installations, among the most ambitious under way in the country and undertake no other large-scale work in the field.

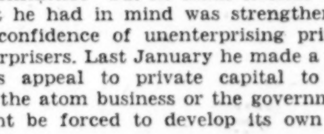
GE's firm stand for private enterprise, with risks assumed by the government, was certain to strengthen the hand of Democrats who are pressing for legislation to authorize a Federal crash program on atomic energy. Led by Sens. Clinton Anderson (N.M.) and Albert Gore (Tenn.) and Rep. Chet Holifield (Cal.), the Democrats would use the issue to heckle the Administration and possibly set up a public atomic yardstick.

AEC Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, firmly committed to pushing or bribing Big Business into the atomic future, recommended to the Joint Committee that the government underwrite accident insurance on atomic plants up to half a billion dollars. (The most a commercial insurance company would cover would be about $65 million.)

THE IMPOSSIBLE HAPPENS: Strauss said such a move would strengthen "public confidence" but he made it clear that what he had in mind was strengthening the confidence of unenterprising private enterprisers. Last January he made a vigorous appeal to private capital to get into the atom business or the government might be forced to develop its own reactors.

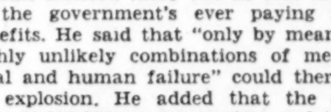
Although business spokesmen apparently regarded the risks of running an atom plant so great they were unwilling to move without a half-billion-dollar guarantee, Strauss insisted there was no real danger of the government's ever paying such benefits. He said that "only by means of highly unlikely combinations of mechanical and human failure" could there be an explosion. He added that the odds were 50,000,000 to one against a fatality if such a blast did occur.

Strauss gave his testimony on March 25. Ten days earlier the AEC had revealed that the "unlikely combination" had turned up. In Los Alamos on Feb. 12 a small test reactor christened Godiva (because it operated when stripped of all but the bare essentials) blew itself up in a run-away chain reaction and was completely destroyed. The accident was hushed up until March 15. The AEC said that no one was injured, the building housing the reactor was intact and that radiation had been removed by "standard clean-up methods." The energy released was equivalent to about two pounds of high explosive, which might have had a near-block-buster effect, but release of the energy was slow enough, said the AEC, to reduce the blast to about what would be caused by a few grams of high explosive. Still Godiva was knocked out.



LOS ALAMOS BLAST
WRECKS REACTOR

New York Times, March 16, 1957



STRAUSS ATTESTS
REACTOR SAFETY

New York Times, March 26, 1957

OTHER DANGERS: Explosions are not the only, nor perhaps the deadliest, danger of atomic power development. What to do with the waste of atomic plants still bedevils atomic engineers but does not stand in the way of plans to turn the industry over to private companies.

The disposal of irradiated atomic waste products is so tricky that any businessman cutting corners to boost profits can jeopardize whole generations. The peril is not like that of a disastrous explosion which, while it is tragic for the victims, can bring public outcry and swift correction. The effects of "hot" waste, contaminating soil, air and water, may not be felt for years.

Yet Rep. Carl T. Durham (D-N.C.), chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee, said in February that the problem was to find a practical way to dispose of waste cheaply enough not unduly to burden big business when it takes over that end of the industry in a few years.

UNSOLVED PROBLEM: At the moment the AEC contracts with all atomic installations to dispose of the waste but the output is so small that there is not yet a major problem. Some of the atomic wastes, thought to be less dangerous, are buried in concrete-lined pits and the radioactivity filters slowly into the soil. The more potent waste products are either dumped into the sea or sealed in underground, steel-encased vaults.

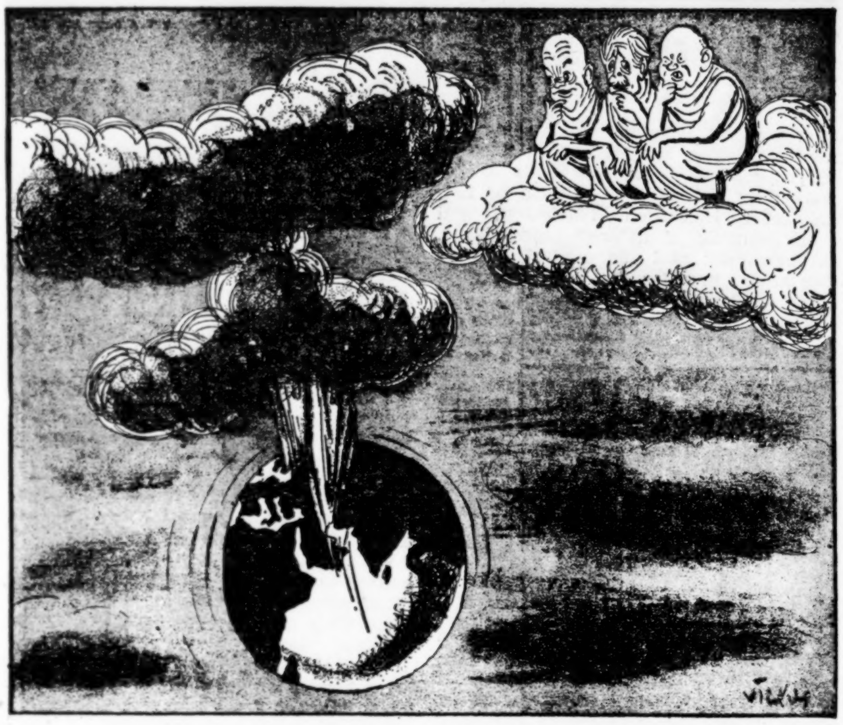
When the atomic industry hits full stride, the nation is certain to run out of "burial grounds." Private industry would be tempted to dump "hot" waste into coastal waters where, scientists warn, it could contaminate a whole seaboard and spread to other countries. Even if buried in the deepest part of the Atlantic Ocean the waste matter could surface in 100 years and, though greatly weakened, would still be harmful. A report by the Natl. Academy of Sciences recommended the middle of the Black Sea as the safest spot, where it would take 2,500 years to surface. The disposal of liquid waste, the deadliest form, is still nowhere near a solution.

A. E. Gorman, chief of the sanitary engineering branch of the AEC, admitted: "We're merely sweeping the real problem under the rug . . When one considers the generally extreme low maximum permissible concentrations of radioactivity in air and water, it becomes apparent that there is not enough dilution available in nature to enable any practical, continuing dispersal of these wastes into the environment."

THE HAPPY STOICS: Some scientists have recommended "dehorning" the wastes, extracting the deadliest isotopes. These could then be used for medical and other purposes but in the long run they would have to be disposed of in some way. It was also suggested to the AEC that the stuff be dumped on the icy wastelands of Greenland. Gorman said there were objections to the scheme, "including the fact that we don't own Greenland."

AEC officials, planning to dump the whole problem into the lap of private industry, are stoically cheerful about risking the health and longevity of coming generations. They tend to be impatient with objections as in the joke about the politician who once retorted: "After all, what has posterity done for us?" Dr. C. W. Shilling, deputy director of the AEC's Division of Biology and Medicine, told a forum at Hunter College on Feb. 20:

"Surely there is some risk, just as there is some risk in any kind of industrial operation. The atomic energy program has made an excellent safety record in its operations to date . . So, it seems to me that it would be well for all of us to be as calm as possible in the presence of the revolution that atomic energy must inevitably bring to our way of life, and let's not strew the road with tacks as some fanatics did in order to stop the progress of the automobile."



Vicky in London Daily Expres

MUTUAL OBSERVATION OF THE FINAL TEST

H-bomb test

(Continued from Page 1)

in the past supported British H-bomb production, the opposition led by Gaitskell (Bevan was away last week) was now taking a strong line on the banning of tests by international agreement. But time was running short for a showdown on the questions Labour militants like Silverman and Zilliacus have been pressing about radiation dangers, the spurning of Soviet offers and the legality of interference with peaceful shipping.

Welsh Labour MP's Cledwyn Hughes and George Thomas spoke for an increasingly alarmed public opinion when they wrote to the **Times** that the Bermuda decisions, "increasing our dependence on the U.S. and our humiliation before the world", were merely "a rehash of the sterile and hopeless policies that by drift and delay plunge the world from one crisis to another."

ATOM RAT-HOLE: The vulnerability of the whole Tory policy was daily more evident. The employers' intransigence against striking engineers' wage demands, and passage over violent Labour protests of the rent-decontrol bill, underlined the extent to which Britain's vast "defense" expenditure is being taken out of the workers' hides. The nation was becoming increasingly aware of the futility—as well as the immorality and danger to posterity—of a "positions of strength" policy based on weapons in which the U.S.S.R. is already conceded to be well ahead. As Bertrand Russell wrote in the **Manchester Guardian**, "we should be obliterated in a day or two" in a nuclear war, and possession of the H-bomb and of U.S.-controlled atomic missile installations would only make Britain more, not less, insecure.

Labour MP Emrys Hughes, as spokesman for indignant farmers of Hebrides islands where a missile installation is planned, pointed out the total waste of billions of pounds spent on old-style air "defense" in view of Soviet advances. Guided missile "defense" would merely transfer down another rat-hole the money sorely needed to better the people's living standards. Hughes wondered if the government, "used to handling clerics in this way", would respond to the Hebrideans' revolt against this installation by exiling their leader, Catholic Brother John Morrison, to the Seychelles.

IS IT AN H-BOMB? The government said that "in the interest of the defense of the free world" it would set off at least three hydrogen explosions at Christmas Island in May and June. The protesting Japanese were consoled with assurances that leaflets would be dropped in the area, and British forces would "make sure that vessels go" and would "carefully examine any claim for damage or loss."

Meanwhile the Co-Operative Society organ **Reynolds News** doubted whether Britain really had an H-bomb at all. It reported that Sir William Penney, atomic weapons research chief, was opposed to the Christmas Island tests but had been "forced under political pressure to go ahead." Penney's opposition was said to be based on the belief that H-bomb research had not advanced far enough for satisfactory tests. According to **Reynolds**, "Britain has no H-bomb in the conventionally accepted sense" and would be testing merely an atomic device to trigger off a hydrogen explosion; scientists could not guarantee that the tests would show Britain could make the bomb. There would be no observers at the first of the tests, but if the second and third succeeded the Tories "would have a face-saver to cover their defense blunders which, since they took office, have cost the taxpayer £7,500,000,000."

CHRISTMAS PRAYER: From other sources it was reported that Britain had been concentrating on cut-rate bombs, and what was to be tested was the theory that, as Zilliacus put it, "the march of events has put death within easy reach of everyone at relatively cheap rates."

While Macmillan was "explaining" his H-test policies in the House of Commons on April Fool's Day, Rikkyo University president Matsushita, his wife and two others flew into London as Prime Minister Kishi's personal ambassadors to plead that the tests be called off. In heralding the mission's arrival, it was stressed that the Matsushitas are Christians. Some circles were optimistic that this might weigh with those who plan a mass-murder demonstration on the island named after the birth of the "Prince of Peace."

The labor story

(*Continued from Page 1*)

to last all this year and may run on into next year. The independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union warned in February of a "rash of new anti-labor legislation regulation, and even licensing of unions" unless labor, through rank and file control, put its own affairs in order. The union proposed a four-point program for rank and file action as "a sound trade union method to deal with racketeering" (see right).

MEANY'S NIGHTLY PRAYER: But many top labor leaders seemed happy at the first results of the McClellan Committee whose members include some of the most active anti-labor forces in Congress. The East Bay, Calif., **Labor Journal** quoted AFL-CIO president George Meany as telling a Phi Beta Kappa alumni meeting in New York: "Believe me, every night I say prayers for the McClellan Committee; I hope they make my job easier." James B. Carey, president of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, favored the Senate inquiry and said in an interview in **U.S. News & World Report** (April 5) that if unions don't correct existing abuses, "then the government will have to take action in order to accomplish the democratic purposes of the union."

Such attitudes prompted Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, to write in his union paper, **The Dispatcher** (March 15): "We take no pleasure from the current investigations or the targets of these investigations even though some of these targets have never been particular friends of ours. And what a disgrace, this bellowing of Meany and Carey out to prove their purity, respectability and honesty, to a handful of labor-hating politicians and employer-controlled newspaper editors. The labor movement has sure come a long way when men like these speak for the unions of our land. Old Sam Gompers must be turning in his grave at the spectacle."

RANK - AND - FILE ACTION: Whether Beck's performance on the witness stand would set off a rank-and-file revolt in the Teamsters Union was uncertain last week but there were rumblings around the country. An Illinois local called on Beck and other top officials to resign; Seattle teamsters got a court order for an audit of their local's books; San Francisco members demanded an accounting of their funds; a Cincinnati local moved to end a trusteeship control set up by vice president James R. Hoffa, now under indictment on a bribery charge. The head of the Cincinnati Joint Teamsters Council with 17,000 members demanded Beck's resignation.

In Yakima, Wash., rank-and-file teamsters hanged and burned Beck in effigy. Denver and Salt Lake City members wired congratulations to the McClellan Committee and asked for help to clean up their areas. In Portland, Ore., petitions supporting the probe and calling for the removal "of any teamster official found guilty of racketeering or misuse of funds" were being circulated. A New York local angrily voted down a proposed increase in dues. There was overwhelming opposition everywhere to the notion of a "defense fund" for Beck and others with rank and file contributions.

SPLIT POSSIBLE: But these were spontaneous reactions and there was no sign of a nationally-coordinated effort to organize rank-and-file sentiment for control of their own union.

What loomed last week was a possibility of a split in the newly-merged labor movement with the Teamsters, its biggest and strongest affiliate, either being suspended or withdrawing from the AFL-CIO.

The Frightened Giant

A NEW BOOK

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Aneurin Bevan's London Tribune printed a sparkling, good review of our Editor-in-Exile's new book Mar. 2, and if we were writing sharpshooter blurbs we'd probably pick out a quote like the following: ". . . subversive in the best sense—A. Bevan." Actually the review is by John Beddoe, and makes the above observation along with other comments like this:

"As a kick in the pants for bumbling intolerance and pomposity the world over, it lands unerringly on the target.

. . . When the powers that be used jail and deportation . . . Belfrage retorted with a skillfully-wielded pen . . . As well as being a case history in intolerance, **The Frightened Giant** is also a very good prison book."

And, from the London **Times Literary Supplement:**

'He was right to produce the book and it contains lessons worth the learning . . . **The Frightened Giant** . . . may serve to remind us of the power of American intolerance."

Finally, from the Dorset **Guardian** (no kin):

"A book to open the eyes of placid English citizens."

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THE AFL-CIO AND . . .

The 5th amendment and racketeering

Following is the special editorial which appeared in the Feb. 15 issue of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's newspaper The Dispatcher:

THE AFL-CIO Executive Council has gone on record nullifying rights guaranteed to all Americans—including union officials—under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. Any official who relies upon the Fifth Amendment before Congressional committees is, according to the announcement of the Executive Council, to be removed from office; and it is to be assumed that unions which approve of officials invoking the Fifth Amendment will be penalized or expelled by AFL-CIO.

This action of the AFL-CIO Executive Council was taken in conjunction with Congressional investigations of racketeering in the labor movement.

The implications of the AFL-CIO position are clear enough. It makes second-class citizens of people in the labor movement by according them less than the full guarantees of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. It goes a long way towards undermining the Bill of Rights itself. It does in one fell swoop what some of the worst reactionaries and enemies of labor could not accomplish in years of effort to destroy the Fifth Amendment and the Bill of Rights.

LABOR WILL BE USED as a political football. Any example of misappropriation or misuse of welfare and pension funds will be headlined in a smear of all labor. Obviously the action of AFL-CIO opens the door to a rash of new anti-labor legislation, regulation, and even licensing of unions.

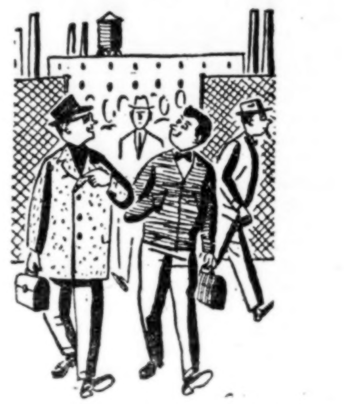
Racketeering exists in the labor movement. The exact dimensions we do not know. Something should be done about it, agreed. The question is whether the action of the AFL-CIO, with all its implications of danger and irreparable damage to the labor movement, is warranted. Is the menace so great and labor so weak that there is no other way to cope with the problem?

Is there a sound trade union method to deal with racketeering—one which does not call for wrecking the Bill of Rights, bringing on a rash of anti-labor legislation and turning the labor movement into a scapegoat? We believe there is. All that is needed is a little faith in democracy and in the people who pay the dues and the salaries of the officers. We would recommend this procedure:

- **The AFL-CIO through its Ethical Practices committee or other appropriate bodies is empowered to investigate any charges of racketeering in any branch of the labor movement. Where it is apparent that detailed investigation is called for, the affiliates can be required to open their records to the AFL-CIO.**
- **Where charges of racketeering are made, or uncovered by AFL-CIO, steps should be taken to set up committees of working members off the job to conduct the investigation of their own welfare, pension and union funds; the AFL-CIO to give such committees the assistance of auditors, investigators and staff.**
- **The AFL-CIO should be empowered to call membership meetings, special conferences, or emergency conventions if necessary, of the union involved, in order to hear the reports and recommendations of the rank and file investigating committees. Provision should be made for referendum votes on the recommendations.**
- **There should be continuance machinery and periodic reports to the membership on welfare, pension, union funds.**

FUNDAMENTALLY, the entire plan means giving the rank and file a chance to act—to investigate, report, vote and continue surveillance of their own union affairs.

This procedure would not be in conflict with basic autonomy of any of the unions. It would not give any committee of the AFL-CIO the authority to order a union or the members to do anything. It does have the power to investigate, and to this would be added the power to secure the co-operation of the rank and file to look into their own affairs, get all the facts to the members and give them a chance to act . . .



"My wife started her own labor investigation. She thinks I'm holding out overtime pay."

It is true that even with this procedure the rare situation might occur where investigations are conducted, racketeering discovered, reports and recommendations made—but voted down with the condition left unchanged. We have confidence in the working rank and file and believe that this would be rare indeed—but even in such an event the membership has the right to be wrong.

This is how any problem of this sort would be handled in the ILWU. It evolves naturally from the manner in which the daily work of the ILWU is performed; where pension, welfare and union funds are involved there are running safeguards of CPA audits, detailed reports to the membership, caucuses and conventions, constant supervision of operations by officers and delegated bodies without reliance on paid trustees, and there is provision for referendum and recall in the union constitution of the ILWU.

THE PROPOSAL we urge on the AFL-CIO would bring a permanent solution to racketeering and the abuse of union authority. Once put into motion the danger of recurrence of these would be minimal.

We believe this idea makes sense—a lot more sense than the present policy of AFL-CIO which is no more than an admission of bankruptcy and leads to the destruction of the fundamental rights and the future welfare of labor. There is something pretty sick about a labor movement when the AFL-CIO Executive Council starts yelling for the cops rather than give the rank and file a chance to clean up the mess.

These "leaders" of labor have but one concern—to increase the centralization of power and authority at the top. Just as Phil Murray used the "communist" issue to drive the CIO affiliates into line, so will AFL-CIO use the "racketeering" issue for the same purpose. If they were genuinely concerned with an effective fight on that front, they would move along the lines the members of ILWU know can and do work, instead of gutting the Bill of Rights.

Right now the Teamsters seem to be the target in the AFL-CIO. We have never had much use for Dave Beck, his policies or practices, but we're compelled to agree when he says the AFL-CIO will regret their action. We just hope that unions around the country will move in time to defend themselves against this new power grab by their top officials, and will simultaneously demand that the AFL-CIO spend their high priced time protecting and advancing the rights and liberties of America, not in betraying them.

Brink-of-war

(Continued from Page 1)

will be in mass production varied. Some reports said five years. The Defense Dept. said it would be much sooner. **UP** (3/30) said "the first ones may be assigned to military forces by the end of this year or early in 1958. Some of them may be made available to Britain at the same time . . ."

U.S. AND U.S.S.R.: In the meantime, U.S. forces "at sea and overseas" have been equipped with shorter range missiles (200-500 miles), the **Christian Science Monitor** (3/29) said. At Bermuda, according to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (3/30), the U.S. promised "to speed the delivery to Britain of a lesser-range [than the IRBM] guided missile, the Army-developed Corporal which can also carry an atomic warhead."

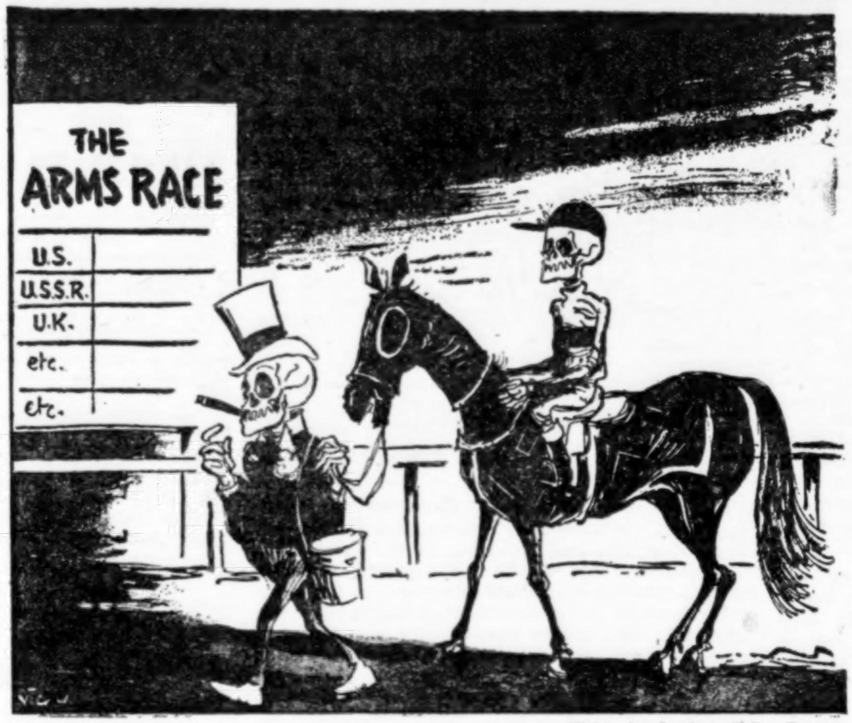
This vast re-equipment and reorganization of Western military forces may be matched in the U.S.S.R. But there is one all-important difference: the U.S.S.R. does not have military bases close to, or surrounding, the US. Hence, at the present stage of weapons development, Washington may believe it has broken the nuclear stalemate achieved by Soviet development of the H-bomb. Cold war propagandists are already beating the drums, pointing to the "new opportunity" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 4/1), and demanding action. A relatively moderate commentator, Joseph C. Harsch, wrote (**Monitor**, 3/26):

"Thus, beginning now, the NATO alliance plus the new weapons gives the Western powers a rapidly rising curve of capability to hit the Soviet Union with weapons which, in equivalent Soviet form, cannot reach the U.S., although they can hit the European countries from which they are launched."

So, said Harsch, while the alliance holds and until the development of intercontinental missiles, the U.S. has "an advantage in the balance of military power." Granting the "possibility that the Kremlin is actually in some fear that Washington will be tempted to use its advantage when it comes into being," he urged the State Dept. to use the "position of strength" which the Pentagon had created.

"BRINK OF WAR" AGAIN: What the State Dept. and Pentagon may have in mind is not clear. But for those who have forgotten the theory and practice of "brink of war," a useful reminder was provided last week. In **John Foster Dulles, A Biography**, John Robinson Beal of **Time** magazine authoritatively describes Dulles' calculated decision last summer to force a showdown in the Middle East. He terms it "a calculated risk . . . on the grand scale, comparable in the sphere of diplomacy to the calculated risks of war taken in Korea and Formosa."

It is unquestionable that Moscow takes seriously military developments in the West. It has addressed a series of warnings to countries which have pacts permitting U.S. bases on their territory, now or in event of war. The latest Soviet notes to Norway and Denmark underlined the inevitability of atomic destruction if atomic attacks were launched from those nations. The Soviet statement on the Bermuda conference stressed the same theme. The notes were probably prompted by recent U.S.-Danish talks on prospective deliveries of guided missiles to Denmark (**Times**, 3/30) and by the Norwegian defense minister's statements that Norway too would have guided missiles.



—Vicky in London Daily Express

THE SURE THING

SKIES—OPEN and SHUT: To counter the accelerating Western drive, the U.S.S.R. has intensified its efforts to secure even partial agreement on disarmament. A major Soviet concession at the current London meetings of the UN Subcommittee has been almost wholly ignored in the West. The reason is not far to seek. Back in 1955, before the Geneva summit conference, major progress on disarmament seemed at hand as a result of the Soviet May 10 proposals which went far to meet Western demands. Widespread hope was torpedoed, however, when the President at Geneva produced his "open skies" plan, making acceptance of it the condition for any disarmament agreement. Even the Western press termed the "open skies" plan a propaganda gimmick designed to block disarmament.

Last November, however, the U.S.S.R. proposed disarmament, to be verified by "open skies" and ground inspection plans in an area extending 500 miles each way from the dividing line in Germany. The response was favorable in Western capitals. An alarmed Washington thereupon turned thumbs down and demoted Harold Stassen, the President's adviser on disarmament, who had become a proponent of the plan.

At the new London talks, the U.S.S.R. went further, proposing "open skies" inspection for "vast areas" of Europe. But the West has apparently not even attempted to explore this proposal and the once touted "open skies" plan has been all but buried.

BERMUDA SULPHUR: Outside the UN, in fact, the West makes no pretense of taking disarmament seriously; the London talks are treated as a sideshow. And, as London's **New Statesman** pointed out (3/30), the one solid fact to emerge from Bermuda was "the Western determination, despite the warnings of physicists and doctors, despite the agonized appeals from Japan, despite the latest Russian offer, to persist in loading the upper air with death-carrying strontium. All that the Bermuda sands have yielded is a whiff of sulphur from the depths."

The Bermuda "sham" on nuclear tests, as the Washington **Post** (3/26) called it, has not been well received. All over the world people are demanding an end to nuclear tests (see Belfrage, p. 1). The U.S.S.R. has again proposed a permanent ban on all tests or, failing that, a temporary one. But the U.S. has again refused. Not long ago it claimed it could detect nuclear explosions anywhere in the world. Now it demands a complete foolproof inspection system already in operation as a condition for banning tests. The Washington **Post** (3/29), pointing out that the U.S. already has more than enough nuclear weapons to vaporize any aggressor, and can continue to manufacture them without tests, commented:

"We know that every additional test adds to the radioactivity that may eventually endanger human life, whether or not the peril is already upon us. We have a highly effective monitoring system that has detected every Soviet test so far. Must we wait until the world is either poisoned or pulverized before concluding that it is in our interest to break the vicious circle?"

THE MIDDLE EAST: Washington's reply to the question seems to be implicit in the fact that the U.S. is as determined to avoid negotiations as it is to continue to make and test nuclear weapons. A proposal made during the recent UN Assembly session for a heads-of-government meeting (India, U.S., Britain, France, U.S.S.R.) on disarmament has not been heard of since. Indian Prime Minister Nehru's plea last week for a face-to-face meeting between the President and top Soviet leaders was ignored.

The Nehru proposal was specifically directed at the potentially explosive situation in the Middle East. For the moment the area was relatively calm, despite continuing charges and countercharges. UN Secretary General Hammarskjold returned to the UN after "very useful talks" in Cairo. Egypt presented a plan for operation of the Suez Canal which "reflected a good bit of moderation" (Washington **Post**, 3/30) and seemed almost sure of acceptance. The reported "gentleman's agreement" between Egypt's President Nasser and Hammarskjold that UNEF will remain in Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh for the time being permits leeway for further negotiations.

Plan for Suez

THE EGYPTIAN PLAN for the Suez Canal provides for Egypt to exercise full sovereignty; respect the 1888 convention; agree to settle disputes in the World Court or UN; operate the Canal through the autonomous Suez Canal Authority, which will collect all tolls, set aside 25% for canal development, and turn over 5% of all receipts to the government.

The program was interpreted as "proposing indirectly to allow the World Court to settle whether Israel should have access to the Canal" (Washington **Post**, 3/30).

JINGLING MILLIONS: There are larger forces, however, threatening in the longer term to intensify tensions in the Middle East. These were symbolized by the tour of Special U.S. Ambassador Richards "with $200 million jingling somewhat loudly in his pocket" (**U.S. News**, 3/29). If experience in other areas is a guide, U.S. dollars will deepen antagonisms and widen splits.

The U.S.'s adherence to the Baghdad Pact cannot fail to have a similar effect. It has already aroused critical comment even in anti-communist papers in pro-Western Lebanon and, according to Hanson Baldwin (**Times**, 3/30), was not even particularly welcome in Iraq and Pakistan, which are pact members. But, as the Washington **Post** pointed out, U.S. participation in the pact permits a freer U.S. deployment of air power in the region.

Deployment of U.S. military power in an area bordering the U.S.S.R., where Arab nationalism is an "angry" and "growing force" (**Life**, 4/1), is a risky business Therefore, Nehru's proposals for direct U.S.-U.S.S.R. talks and Soviet proposals for an arms embargo and neutralization of the area make sense to many. But the whole development of Western policy is in the opposite direction—toward explosion. This may be "a mindless momentum," as I. F. Stone has called it, but it is an increasingly irreversible one.

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Boost from up north

ANCHOR POINT ALASKA

Our family has enjoyed receiving the GUARDIAN for the past year. The Mailbag especially interests me as very informative and attentive to the true issues of today. World Analysis by Tabitha Petran is most interesting to us all. You are courageous people battling for all of us. We will back you up by whatever means we can. **The Murtos**

BOOKS

Abraham Polonsky's 'A Season of Fear'

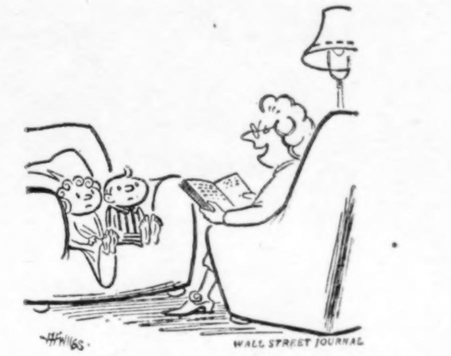
ABRAHAM POLONSKY has expertly staged a battle of ideas in a swamp. The setting of his novel, **A Season of Fear***, is wonderfully effective as a background to a nightmare. The scenery is lush, extravagant, feverish. It is Los Angeles and Malibu, authentic, frenzied, ripening and rotting.

On a garishly-lighted stage Polonsky has created the atmosphere of sticky fear that engulfs Americans. The fear is the more remarkable in that there seems so little to be afraid of. No stormtroopers and no lynchers march. To people from other lands who have lived under real threats of the knock on the door it must seem that Polonsky's California engineers tremble at shadows. It is that shadowy terror that gives **A Season of Fear** its nightmare quality and makes many Americans the despair of their friends overseas who are used to dangers but not bad dreams.

POLONSKY'S HERO is a model, clean-cut American with the right instincts and no time for serious thought. As a hydraulic engineer he is called on to sign a loyalty oath which he does with only a faint squirm of discomfort. He experiences the squirm again when he refuses to sign a petition to retain on the job a man who did refuse to sign the oath. He squirms when a refugee professor is hounded, when snoopers and informers prowl about his neighbors.

But he is galvanized into action only when he fancies his career threatened by a trunk-load of books, lying in his cellar, left by his brother-in-law who died in the war. Then Polonsky shows this strong, steady type in a paroxysm of fright, ripping, hiding and burning the books which he has never read but which contain forbidden, incriminating words. It is in such panic scenes that the American nightmare is most vivid.

The novel's climax finds the engineer swimming at night off Malibu beach with the poisonous informer who threatens his security. They are caught in a rip-tide. The engineer could save the informer by telling him how to navigate his way to shore. He is silent. The flabby frame of the informer is carried out to sea. At home the engineer's wife pleads only for some word that her husband would have saved the life of the informer if he had been able to. He cannot give that assurance and wonders: "Who had transformed his life, himself or others?"



Wall Street Journal

". . . and they lived in peaceful co-existence ever after."

With Decency thus honestly examining its fall from grace the book ends.

THROUGHOUT, the Decent Engineer is tempted not only by symbolic Caution, Expediency and Fear but by Sex and Infidelity in the persons of the informer's sodden wife and a prostitute passing dreamily through a bar. He wrestles for a bit and surrenders to the informer's wife. In this morality tale, this marks symbolically his downfall from the state of grace, represented by his wife, who stands above all fear.

The novel deals with symbolic incidents as well as characters. A kitten being torn to shreds in an unfeeling stream of traffic is a major event, not because it has any consequences either in fact or in the mind of any character, but because it is a way the author makes his point. The people in the book behave like symbols, talking in bright, pregnant epigrams posing meaningfully but not naturally.

It would not be quite fair to cite these as faults. They are not the product of any deficiency in the author, for Polonsky clearly knows his craft. It is deliberate. If you do not like symbolic dramas then you must look elsewhere; but if you accept the premise that the men and women who move and talk are forces of good and evil, it is hard to quarrel with the author's ingenuity in manipulating them. They tell his story well.

A Season of Fear is not pleasant reading. It is disquieting. It depicts the ghosts that haunt America. It is a nightmare, but one most Americans will recognize—perhaps the 20th century American Dream.

—Elmer Bendiner

* *A SEASON OF FEAR by Abraham Polonsky, Cameron Associates, 224 pp. $3.50.*

"AMERICAN RADICALS"

A great tradition

IT HAS NEVER been easy to be a radical in the United States. But whatever the barrier raised against him, the radical has always been with us and not even the hangman has ever been able to shut him up.

If, for all his refusal to be silenced or curbed, he has not to date created a lasting mass movement or brought about a noticeable shift of political power to his own kind, it cannot be said that he has always, or even ever, been a failure. New and useful proof of this is now at hand in a collection of 16 essays* in which are discussed 14 great American dissenters who have left their mark on American life, and whose words and deeds still have meaning for the present and the future.

If some sections of the American Left, at the moment rather battered and bruised, now concede (with an assist from abroad) that there may be "many roads" to socialism, it shouldn't have taken until 1957 to make the discovery. The very variety of native American radicalism ought to have suggested long ago that no single person and no single group held the single key to the door closed against them. But rather than each carrying his own key, the 14 vigorous non-conformists and history-changers here considered each each bore his own torch—and the combined light that was shed added up to a glare showing a way ahead.

If some American radicals of this generation closed their eyes against this probing beam and concentrated instead on remembering how we took the Winter Palace in 1917, well, the light still shines and it's not too late yet to take a look around.

NATIVE AMERICAN radicalism is fascinating because of its uniqueness, just as the country that produces it is unique. It became sinful in some quarters as long ago as 1929 to consider the United States "exceptional," but the truth has always been that this home of the brave is not quite exactly like any other country on earth, and it has always produced radicals of a slightly different cut. All of the sturdiest ones were proud individualists. Henry Demarest Lloyd, subject of one of the essays in this book, once described himself as "a socialist-anarchist - communist - individualist - collectivist - cooperative-aristocratic-democrat."

Besides Lloyd, these other Americans are considered: John Jay Chapman; Theodore Dreiser; Heywood Broun; Robert M. LaFollette; John Brown; John Peter Altgeld; Vito Marcantonio; Eugene V. Debs; William Haywood; Daniel De Leon; Walter Weyl; Thorstein Veblen; and Charles Austin Beard.

In addition, there is an essay on The Renegade: A Study of Defectors, and one on The Ideology and Techniques of Repression, 1903-1933.

The book is edited by Harvey Goldberg, associate professor of history at Ohio State, who is also co-author with William A. Williams, teacher of history at the University of Oregon, of a four-part introduction. This most commendably relates the examples of the array of disparate radicals in our own recent past to the problems faced now by the American Left.

HOWEVER EACH MAY HAVE DIFFERED from the other, there is a bond linking them all: each was concerned foremost with winning the best for the most in this uniquely rich land, and each held to his course, rough as it turned out to be for most of them. There's not a sail-trimmer in the lot.

The book will do a great service if it succeeds, as it should, in recalling straying attentions to our own great native heritage of radicalism and showing that the bell-book-candle approach on the Left is hardly the way to the future. The volume will do double service if the essay by Arthur K. Davis of the University of Vermont on Thorstein Veblen stirs up a new interest in that unique American's work.

Each essay is accompanied by a bibliographical note which, if heeded, would do a great deal to restore American radicalism to present-day American radicals.

—Lawrence Emery

* *AMERICAN RADICALS: Some Problems and Personalities. Edited by Harvey Goldberg. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14. $5.*

CALIFORNIA

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CALENDAR

Detroit

Hear **VINCENT R. DUNNE**, of Minnesota, on "Problems and Prospects of the Socialist Movement," Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Fri., April 12, 8 p.m. Meet him at social reception next night, same hall. Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Los Angeles

FIRST REPORT BY LEO HUBERMAN On Seven Months spent in the Middle East, Asia & Europe, with first hand news from the Socialist, Western and Neutral Countries. Fri., April 26, 8 p.m., Auditorium First Unitarian Church of L.A., 2936 W. 8 Street (nr. Vermont). Question period follows main speaker. Adm. 75c. Tickets at Church office.
UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM

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New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "**GENERALS WITHOUT BUTTONS,**" Apr. 6. This famous French satire on absurd local rivalries gives considerable insight in the causes of war among nations. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members $1; non-members, $1.25. — Next week "**THE GREAT ADVENTURE**" (Sweden).

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MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS announces
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who will speak on
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Watch GUARDIAN
for announcement of hall.

FRIDAY APRIL 5th, the Friday Nite Round Table Discussion Forum, presents a program around THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT, IN THEORY & PRACTICE, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 322 East 3 St., 8 p.m. No adm. charge; no contrib.; FREE refreshments.

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Sunday, April 7th, 7:30 p.m.
Automation—A new industrial revolution? Can it solve the crisis of capitalism? Speaker: Bob Chester, socialist lecturer.
Next week: April 14, 7:30 p.m.
THE CASE OF MORTON SOBELL
Prisoner of the Witch-hunt
Speakers: Helen Sobell, wife of Morton Sobell; Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party 1956 candidate for vice-president.

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THE FIRST BID

Unity Forum sets May 1 meeting

NEW YORK'S Socialist Unity Forum has been the first to approve the suggestion of GUARDIAN Mailbag contributor Nan Dickman for united May Day meetings this year with all Left parties invited. The idea was unanimously seconded at the Mar 29 Forum by a capacity crowd which came to hear Prof. Dirk Struik of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and M.H. Baker, Minneapolis chemical engineer and former chairman of the Minnesota Progressive Party.

A meeting has been set for Wednesday evening, May 1, for the joint May Day gathering—in addition to the Forum's regular evenings: April 12, with the GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal and Joseph Starobin; and April 26 with Harvey O'Connor and I. F. Stone.

Watch the GUARDIAN for full announcements of all meetings.

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THE MAIL BAG

Fund for freedom

NEWARK, N. J.

Thank you for announcing the annual meeting of the Katharine Van Orden Fund for Freedom Mar. 1. Although the full proceeds of that meeting went to the Montgomery Improvement Assn., the trustees have voted a special contribution of $125 to the Guardian from our treasury, in accordance with Katharine's unfailing devotion to the paper and its purposes.

Ida Rocklin, Sec'y-Treas.

Path to paradise

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The 60 billions wasted on war and preparation would accomplish more if spent for housing, medicine, health, recreation, education, brotherhood and social and economic justice, so we could achieve Paradise and Utopia on Terra Firma.

Vee M. Ess

Blow some our way

ST. MARYS, O.

I note that there is going to be an investigation about what to do about the millions donated to elect those who determine the nature of our government and make our laws. Those millions went to the big papers, radio, television and the like — and for what? We, the ordinary people, must dig down with our little mite and support the GUARDIAN. We may not always agree but we can surely agree that the aim is for the best and that we can surely make it better still as the dollars and support come rolling in.

Henry Dubb

Boom, doom, gloom

BELHAVEN, N. C.

Intercontinental guided missiles are now quite superfluous. Soviet Russia can, by exploding its atomic arsenal over its own territory, kill every American. Of course, this would kill every Russian too, but this consideration is of little consequence, since, if Russia exploded its atomic arsenal over the U. S., this would also kill every Russian.

This effect would be produced by radioactive fallout which operates from a period of from five to 10 years after an atomic explosion, contaminating not only man himself, but his entire food supply.

The atomic arsenal of either the U. S. or Soviet Russia would be more than sufficient, no matter where discharged, to finish the job. Since we would all die anyhow, what difference would it make whether we discharged the bombs on ourselves or on the enemy? It might even be better to use our supply on ourselves, since we would then get quick death while the enemy would get the torture and agony of slow death.

Our only security is universal friendship.

Vernon Ward

Whose ox is gored?

BROWNSVILLE, TEX.

It is an historical fact that, since 1917, the imperialist nations have practiced counter-revolution against the socialist world and that is what happened in Hungary. Hungary, being the strongest Catholic country in Eastern Europe, was selected as the most vulnerable of the Eastern European countries to counter-revolution.

The U.S. Voice of America has constantly harped on one line: that the peoples democracies could enjoy American standards of living if not for Soviet domination. This psychological warfare tactic hit home in Poland and Hungary. Western spokesmen openly admit their involvement in subversive activities.

Expecting these counter-revolutions, the Soviet Union and all the East European democracies signed the Warsaw pact to aid each other in case of aggressive attack (counter-revolution). U.S. has identically the same commitments with 62 nations. Now these anti-Soviet Hungarians are condemning the U.S. for not sending military aid which was virtually promised. My contention is: everyone who condemns the Soviets for military interference in Hungary backs up and helps world imperialism. Anthony Eden and Guy Mollet condemn the Soviets while busily engaged in massacring Egyptians and Algerians. Our liberals and pink socialists are found in the same boat with a murderous crew.

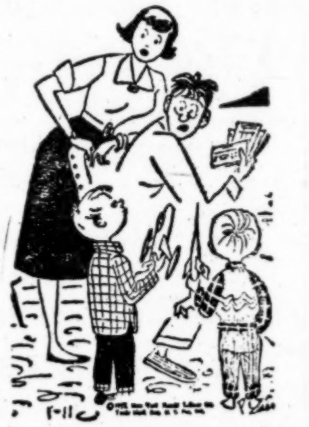
Walt Green

Save the sermon

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

This is no time to talk of heaven or hell, to make long prayers or ask if I'm saved. Just give me some practical help, that's what I need, and I'll be saved. One kind deed is worth a dozen sermons, a good example gives us faith in human nature.

L. M.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"If you want to know what really flies the fastest—it's our money."

One man's plan

CHINA BAR, B.C.

When our leaders make a speech
Do they often try to reach
Deep within the heart of man
So that all will know the plan?

Earl Scott Brown

As "Just Brownie," Earl Scott Brown, a Canadian World War II vet, has for many years waged personal correspondence with all manner of bigwigs and has friendly replies from dozens, including Nasser, Nixon and Bulganin (photo enclosed) to show for it. A recent letter to the Hungarian Legation in Canada, c/o the Poles, brought him a "security" visit from the Mounties. It also brought him an answer from the chief of the Hungarian Division of the Polish Legation, attesting the above poem with the statement:

"The tragic events in Hungary could have been prevented had the previous state leadership linked more closely with the people, if it had consulted the wisdom of the people, had the people had a chance to 'know the plan'."

Last year Brownie bought a copy of **Labour is My Faith** by James Clunie M.P., filled the flyleaves with copies of his letters from Churchill, Mrs. Roosevelt et al and sent it back to the author in England. Recently it came back to him with the signatures added of 113 British MP's and other dignitaries. Says Brownie: "It's a great old world we live in; I never had a dull moment."

With season's greetings to the GUARDIAN, Brownie writes:

"Keep your ears open for news of the vast new empire the De Rothschilds are trying to build up in Newfoundland." Newfoundland readers, get cracking. —Ed.

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Now hear this

ANYONE would be well-advised to take plenty of vitamins, washed down with a double Scotch, before calling one of our British cousins a "limey."

But if you should, and have time to explain, all hands should know that this is not necessarily an uncomplimentary moniker.

HIS MAJESTY'S SAILORS, long before the first Vitamin C metamorphosed into its capsule stage, used to drink lime juice (and other citrus stuffs) to offset the see-going skin disease known as scurvy.

OF COURSE, you eat a better-balanced diet than a British tar under sail did; so you probably don't have to fret about getting scurvy, beri-beri, pellagra or even rickets.

Then, what is it that ails you? Why don't you rise each day with a clear eye, spring in the step and a world outlook like the Good Humor Man? What makes you doze during the collection speech?

YOUR SYSTEM needs beefing up (this goes even for vegetarians) and vitamin supplements are as important to your way of life as lime juice to life on the bounding main.

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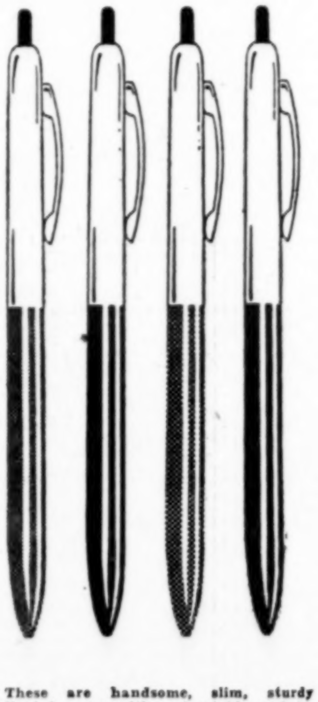

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the SPECTATOR

The Marxist-Leninist's Song

(Tune: The Major-General's Song from "The Pirates of Penzance")

M.-L. I am the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist,
I'm anti-war, and anti-God, and very anti-feminist;
My thinking's dialectical, my wisdom's undebatable,
When I negate negations they're undoubtedly negatable.
And yet I'm no ascetic—I am always full of bonhomie
When lecturing to classes on the primitive economy;
And comrades all agree that they have never heard a smarter cuss
Explain the basic reasons for the slave revolt of Spartacus.

Chor. Explain the basic reasons, etc.

M.-L. I'm fierce and unrelenting when I'm extirpating heresies,
Yet patient and forgiving to the comrade who his error sees;
In short, as propagandist, agitator and polemicist,
I am the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist.

Chor. In short, as propagandist, agitator and polemicist,
He is the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist.

M.-L. My love of Party history comes very close to mania,
I teem with information on the Bund in Lithuania;
My speech on the Decembrists is replete with fun and pleasantry
I know the different stages in collectivising peasantry.
With Russian Social-Democrats I'm always glad to clench a fist
(While carefully distinguishing the Bolshevist and Menshevist);
But when I am confronted with a regular Bukharinite
I get a rise in temperature (both centigrade and fahrenheit).

Chor. He gets a rise in temperature, etc.

M.-L. I know what Lenin said about the concept of the deity,
And why it's very dangerous to worship spontaneity;
In short, as propagandist, agitator and polemicist,
I am the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist.

Chor. In short, as propagandist, agitator and polemicist,
He is the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist.

M.-L. In fact, when I begin to try to fight against bureaucracy,
To criticise myself a bit, and practice more democracy;
When bringing Marx's teachings up to date I'm much more wary at,
And when I've done with phrases like "impoverished proletariat";
When I have learned that workers think that nothing can be sillier
Than "monolitic unity" and biased Russophilia—
Then people will exclaim: "Hurrah! He's not a stupid sap at all!
A better Marxist-Leninist has never studied **Capital!**"

Chor. A better Marxist-Leninist, etc.

M.-L. My policies and theories have an air of unreality
Because I am a victim of the cult of personality;
But still, as propagandist, agitator and polemicist,
I am the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist.

Chor. But still, as propagandist, agitator and polemicist,
He is the very model of a modern Marxist-Leninist.

—From **The Rhyming Reasoner**, "A Journal of Indiscretion," published by M. McGonagall, "Elysian Fields N.," London

Goshal on tour in May

GUARDIAN editor for foreign affairs Kumar Goshal will go on a lecture tour for the GUARDIAN during the month of May. His tentative itinerary is printed below.

SAN FRANCISCO—SAT., MAY 18
LOS ANGELES—FRIDAY, MAY 24
MINNEAPOLIS—SAT. & SUN., MAY 25-26

Complete details will be printed in later issues.